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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

### THE CEMENT OF NATIONS.

It is a common objection urged against Christianity, that it has proved a more fertile cause of war and bloodshed since its introduction to the world than all other causes put together. Indeed, it constitutes the whole stock in trade of many of the small hucksters of "rational opinions." Men who have just begun to think—apprentices and shopmen, who chafe their minds into the first consciousness of life at debating societies—mechanics, who satisfy the longings of newly-awakened intellectual appetite with stuff which fills them with nothing but the wind of conceit—worn-out debauchees, anxious, as the excitement of passion subsides, to prevent the storm of conscience from getting up—all betake themselves to this grand position of antagonism to the truth. The rant and ribaldry which have been expended upon this topic are altogether beyond calculation. It will serve your open-mouthed declaimers when all others fail. It may be beaten out to cover any conceivable extent of surface. It opens the garden gate to eighteen hundred centuries of rank and poisonous ecclesiastical history; and it will be odds if your ingenious sceptic cannot find, in all that space, illustrations bitter enough with which to make argument sicken, turn pale, and swoon away, if not expire.

And, making due deductions for palpable exaggeration, the objection is not destitute of force, if state Christianity is to be taken as real Christianity. "The powers that be" have made but a sorry thing of the gospel of peace. When, upon the first introduction of tea into this country, the old wives of the day served up the boiled leaves as vegetable diet, and threw away the decoction, in consequence of which it was pronounced to be an article unfit for human food, they made no greater blunder in their way than civil rulers, in their modes of exhibiting truth, have done in theirs. They poisoned society with what, properly administered, was a blessing. "Who says that tea is fit to eat?" said the dogmatists in dietetics of a former age: "Who can contend that Christianity has blessed mankind?" ask the confident impugnors of religion in our own times. Now it may suffice to say to the first that tea was not made to be eaten, and to the last that Christianity was not revealed to be established by civil authorities. The evil, in both cases, lies not in the thing itself, but in the utter mistake made as to the proper manner of serving it up. Hence, in the one instance we had *nausea*; in the other, strife, bloodshed, misery.

The system of truth uncovered to man's moral perception, in Christianity, contains nothing in it, when fairly examined, calculated to light up in human hearts the flame of angry passion. In itself, it is neither bitter in spirit nor fierce in mien. Its whole tone is soothing—its whole aspect meekness. In its doctrines there is nothing dangerous to the world's peace. Its precepts inculcate union, forbearance, hearty forgiveness, universal love. Its genuine influence is of the mildest, tenderest, most subduing character. Covetousness it denounces with unsparing severity—frowns upon worldly ambition—rebukes every kind of violence. It is a revelation antagonistic to, and, in as far as it is believed, destructive of, every kind of selfishness. Not, therefore, in Christianity itself is the evil complained of to be found. The seeds of war and bloodshed come not from this source. It has been made the occasion—the blameless occasion—of wide-spread discord and confusion amongst men; but it is itself as innocent of offence as is the lamb, for the possession of which the beasts of the forest are tearing each other to pieces.

Such being obviously the case, it occurs naturally enough to inquire, whether there be not something radically and utterly wrong, in the mode commonly adopted of administering this system of truth. Compulsory means resorted to for the support of the mechanism required for the diffusion of religion—and be it remembered all church establishments must ultimately rest upon compulsion—sufficiently account for the failure of the whole scheme. National churches are necessarily jealous, selfish, and, as far as the spirit of the age will allow them, tyrannical. Interwoven with the interests of civil empire, they become to states additional sources of, and incitements to, hostile collision. The doctrine of force being once asso-

ciated with the service of Christianity, no earthly power can determine the limits to which it shall be carried. History proves that it has always gone as far as the temper of nations can be made to endure. Passing events in our own land offer no exception. Political disappointment, the treachery of party, commercial depression, and organised physical force which it would be madness to dare, have cowed the high spirit of the British people. And now, mark how the establishment is pushing on its encroachments. For the children of our manufacturing poor it is virtually on the eve of repealing, in this new Factory bill, the toleration act. By the judgment delivered a few days since in the Braintree church rate case, by Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, it is taking from Englishmen the power of refusing to tax themselves at the demand of any ignorant churchwarden. Will it stop here? Has human nature ceased to be human nature? Are the tendencies of priestism altered? Not at all. The compulsory principle will again evolve its worst elements. Every new step in its career will be the signal for fresh resentments, the cause of fresh discontent. The abettors of the voluntary principle may as well betake themselves at once to set their house in order. Puseyism, rampant in the church, is at length commanding the services of the state—and Puseyism, in its triumph, is persecution. The days of Laud are coming back. Clerical intolerance already displays the sword half-drawn from the scabbard in which it has, until lately, been long sheathed. An age of violence is again setting in, to scourge insincere and sleepy dissenterism into submissive conformity. Whilst good, weak men are proposing all manner of schemes of Christian union, the giant evil they have spared and fawned upon, in utter contradiction to their own principles, is lifting up its ponderous club to smite all voluntary churches into the dust. Presently, when they least expect it, they will be sprawling upon the earth, wailing, in helplessness, their half-willing mistake, and bemoaning the dawn of that day when, instead of bearing testimony against, they were intent upon Utopian schemes of fraternising with, this world's caricature of their Master's kingdom.

It must be clear enough, even to the dullest observer, that Christianity, administered and supported on the voluntary system, could have conducted to no such deplorable results as these. Maintained by Christian willingness, it could not possibly have kindled the devastating fires of what are termed "religious wars."

But we demand for the voluntary principle a much higher praise than this—a praise which, perhaps, belongs not so much to itself as to that greater light of which it is only the faithful reflection. We must anticipate a few centuries of time. We must suppose that not in England only, but over the vast continent of Europe, in the depths and around the coasts of Africa, and scattered in profusion over the surface of America, there exist, as here and there will exist, countless societies, self-sustained, embodying and enforcing the truths of Christianity. These societies, distinguished from each other only by shades of difference in faith, will constitute a sort of network of peace and union, connecting together in one bond of brotherhood the several nations of the earth. All sympathies meeting in one central truth—all energies occupied in the benevolent diffusion in one system of remedial doctrine—all hearts beating in unison to one high and sacred theme—it will be next to impossible that the jarring interests of time should prevail to dis sever the ties which link land to land. Religious ties, at all events, must, in such case, be first broken through before nations can stand asunder from each other. Christianity, thus maintained, will be a guarantee for universal peace, will gradually break down the fences which separate between one country and another, will multiply the interests in which man meets with his brother man and becomes one, and will soften down those conventional distinctions which constitute a soil in which for hostile dispositions to root themselves. Herein we have objects apart from those which are merely political, and which are identified with the proceedings of states as such, growing up on every hand, and, in perfect independence of civil policy interweaving into one grand tissue of friendship the various tribes of the human family. Such a result we contend to be impossible under the system of established churches. In no case, during past time, have they ever con-

tributed to bind into close association the different nations of the earth.

Thus have we, in a few brief and hurried glances, seen the bearings of the voluntary principle upon the interests of society. That this mode of supporting Christianity offers a check to some of the main evils naturally incident to the social state—that it harmonises with its wants, promotes its most beneficial tendencies, and promises results which no other system could attain, we take to have been sufficiently indicated, if not elaborately proved. We have but one more main branch of the subject upon which to dwell. We shall enter next week upon the consideration of the agreement of the voluntary principle with Christianity itself.

### BRAINTREE CHURCH RATE CASE.

So! The plot thickens. The dissenters who cherished with such fond attachment their faithful friend my Lord John Russell, and received from him, with such subservient meekness, all the aristocratic kicks which he scrupled not to administer, conducted safely into the toils of a Tory government, are just beginning to reap the fruits of those past compromises which laid down the broad and level pavement for the return of rampant priestism. Ecclesiastical courts, picking up courage out of the apathy of dissenters, are coming forward with a triumphant air to second the blow aimed at consistent nonconformity by a conservative home secretary of state. The Braintree case is decided—decided by the first ecclesiastical court of this and—always excepting the judicial committee of her Majesty's privy council, in which three lay lords, who may be, for any provision that exists to the contrary, a triune impersonation of infidelity, profligacy, and imbecility, decide upon the religious faith and church discipline of the people of these realms. The Braintree case is decided—that is, the power of the purse is handed over in every parish to a couple of churchwardens, who, having first, in child's play we suppose, summoned a vestry to consider the making of a rate, and having received the refusal of a majority of that body are empowered there and then, in conjunction with the minority, to levy contributions to any amount upon their fellow-parishioners. The judgment of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust constitutes an elaborate exposition of the whole case. The principle from which he starts being granted, viz., that there exists an obligation in common law binding upon every parish to provide for the necessary repairs of the church, and the expenses incurred in the maintenance of divine worship, the conclusion, it appears to us, follows in natural sequence. The monstrous anomaly upon the very face of which is written, in letters too distinct to be mistaken, injustice and oppression, is after all but one aspect of a religious establishment—part and parcel of it—necessary to its being—inseparable from its long-continued maintenance. If we are to have a religious establishment, we must also have all the tyrannical appendages to it. We see no help for it. There was a time when dissenters, had they been true to their own principles, might have struck a mortal wound into the compulsory system, through the medium of church rates. Political cajolery prevailed upon them to let that time pass by unimproved. They fawned upon their worst foes—they maligned their best and most steadfast friends—they whispered away the characters of those who dared to act out their own professed principles, and now retribution has overtaken them. This judgment is but a step towards the insolent ascendancy of the priesthood—the Factory bill of Sir James Graham is another. A few short years may suffice to bring out all the latent tendencies of a religious establishment to persecution. In spirit, if not in actual substance, the cry will soon be "Turn or burn." The powers of the world are up in arms against the power of Christianity, and once more a mortal struggle is commencing between those who worship God and those who worship Mammon. We had better prepare ourselves for the test. Adherence to the faith prescribed by conscience will soon amount to a renunciation of every civil right and every earthly good.

LYNN.—During the last few days the property of six highly respectable inhabitants of St Margaret's parish has been seized under distress warrants for non-payment of church rates.—*Cambridge Advertiser*.



## THE BRAINTREE CHURCH RATE CASE.

Veley and Joslin v. Gosling.

In the Arches court, on Saturday, Sir H. Jenner Fust gave sentence in this case, which was an appeal from the Consistory court of London, in a suit for subtraction of church rate, promoted by the churchwardens of the parish of Braintree, Essex, against Mr John Gosling, a parishioner and inhabitant. The court below (of which Dr Lushington was judge) rejected the libel, on the ground that the rate, which had been made by the churchwardens and the minority of the parishioners assembled at a vestry meeting, summoned in obedience to a monition to make a rate for the repair of the church, the majority refusing to make any rate, was illegal and invalid. The importance of Sir H. J. Fust's decision induces us to give, as fully as possible, his judgment on this occasion:—

The learned Dean of the Arches commenced by observing that the parish of Braintree had obtained a considerable degree of notoriety from the determined opposition given by a great majority of its inhabitants to church rates. In 1837 a question as to the validity of a rate in that parish gave rise to proceedings which commenced in the Consistory court of London, and went to the courts of common law, being finally adjudicated in the court of Exchequer Chamber. In that case the majority of the parishioners in vestry having refused a rate, the churchwardens, not at the same vestry meeting, but several days after, and without any further notice to the parishioners, made a rate by themselves. The judge of the Consistory court, contrary to his own opinion, admitted the libel in a suit against Mr Burder, a parishioner, for the recovery of his quota of this rate, conceiving himself bound by the authority of a case in this court, that of "Gaudern v. Selby," in 1796. A prohibition having issued from the court of King's Bench, the plaintiff in prohibition declared, the defendant demurred, and the judgment of the court was against the validity of that rate. The case then went by writ of error to the court of Exchequer Chamber, which affirmed the judgment of the court of King's Bench. In delivering the decision of the judges (eight in number) in the Exchequer Chamber, Lord Chief Justice Tindal stated that the questions to be determined were—first, whether the churchwardens, after a rate for the necessary repairs of the church had been proposed to the parishioners in vestry and refused by a majority, could of their own sole authority, at a subsequent time, by themselves, and not at any parish meeting, impose a valid rate on the parishioners; secondly, whether a court of common law could issue a writ of prohibition to the spiritual court to stay proceedings to enforce payment of such a rate. The court of Exchequer Chamber was of opinion that such a rate was invalid, and that the writ of prohibition was properly issued; but the Lord Chief Justice expressed that opinion in a guarded manner, and accompanied it with this observation—"It is obvious that there is a wide and substantial difference between the churchwardens alone, or the churchwardens and the minority together, making a rate at the meeting of the parishioners when the refusal takes place, and the churchwardens possessing the power of rating the parish by themselves at any future time, however distant. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss that point, as the facts of this case do not bring it before us; it is sufficient to say, whilst we give no opinion upon it, that we desire to be understood as reserving to ourselves the liberty of forming an opinion whenever the case shall occur." These expressions were very remarkable. The Lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench had expressed his opinion that no rate could be valid unless made with the consent of the majority of the parishioners; but the court of Exchequer Chamber did not affirm so general a proposition; they guarded themselves against being supposed to do so; they recognised a "wide and substantial difference" between a rate made by churchwardens and the minority at the same vestry where a rate had been refused, and a rate made by the churchwardens alone at a subsequent time, which was the case in the former Braintree suit. The prohibition in that case put a stop to the proceedings; but still the church continued in a state of great dilapidation, and the necessity of repairs being very pressing, the churchwardens adopted the suggestion thrown out by Lord Chief Justice Tindal. In order that the proceedings should be perfectly regular, a decree under the seal of the Consistory court of London, issued at the instance of the vicar, called upon the churchwardens and parishioners to appear and show cause why they should not meet in vestry to make a rate for the necessary repairs of the church. The churchwardens appeared, and professed a readiness to obey the directions of the court. No appearance was given on the part of the parishioners, and as no objection was therefore made on their part, a monition issued, requiring them to meet in vestry on a certain day, and to make a rate for the necessary repairs of the church. In obedience to this monition the churchwardens convened a vestry, at which they submitted the surveys and estimates, and proposed a rate of 2s. in the pound. An amendment was, however, moved, to the effect that the parishioners were bound by religious principles and social feelings not to grant a rate, which amendment was carried, being tantamount to a refusal of the rate. Thereupon the churchwardens, with the minority, at the same meeting, in obedience to the monition, and in discharging the obligation cast upon them, made a rate of 2s. in the pound, the rate in question. The real and substantial objection offered to the rate in the court below was, that it was made by a minority of the parishioners in vestry. This being the simple question, it was unnecessary for this court to go into a lengthened inquiry as to the nature and origin of the obligation upon the parishioners to repair their parish church, or into the antiquity of making a rate for that purpose, because the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in delivering the judgment of the court of Exchequer Chamber, had distinctly laid it down, "that the obligation by which the parishioners are bound to repair the body of their parish church whenever necessary, and to provide all things essential to the performance of divine service therein, is an obligation imposed on them by the common law of the land;" This was a sufficient authority for him (the learned judge) to hold that the burden of repairing the church lies upon the parishioners. Such being the obligation, the next subject of inquiry was the effect of it. Here again Lord Chief Justice Tindal had laid it down, that "the repair of the fabric of the church is a duty which the parishioners are compellable to perform, not a mere voluntary act which they may perform or decline at their own discretion; that the law is imperative upon them

absolutely that they do repair the church, not binding on them in a qualified or limited manner only, that they may repair or not, as they think fit; and that where it so happens that the fabric of the church stands in need of repair, the only question upon which the parishioners when convened together to make a rate can by law deliberate and determine is, not whether they will repair the church or not (for upon that point they are concluded by the law), but how and in what manner the common law obligation so binding them may be best and most effectually, and at the same most conveniently, performed and carried into effect." Every word of this was most important for the consideration of this court, and deserving of the utmost attention, not only as coming from the very learned person from whom it emanated, and from the clear and lucid manner in which he stated what the extent of this common law obligation is, but because it expressed, not merely his own opinion, but the opinion of his seven learned brethren. The next question would be, in what manner is this common-law obligation to be enforced? He would not enter into the question whether the obligation was by the *jus commune laicum*, or the *jus commune ecclesiasticum*; if by the former, the temporal courts would enforce it; if the latter, the spiritual courts. Lord Chief Justice Tindal says—"The parishioners have not more power to throw off the burden of the repair of the church than that of the repair of bridges and highways, the compelling of the performance of the latter obligation belonging exclusively to the temporal courts; whilst that of the former has been exercised usually, though perhaps not necessarily exclusively, by the spiritual courts from time immemorial." Now, from what he had said, these principles arose:—1st, that the obligation to repair is absolute; 2d, that the performance of the obligation may be compelled; 3d, that the performance of the obligation may be properly enforced by the ecclesiastical court, subject, nevertheless, to the control of the courts of common law where the ecclesiastical court exceeds its jurisdiction. Now, what was necessary to constitute a valid church rate? Nobody doubted (as Lord Chief Justice Tindal said) that a rate made by the majority of the parishioners in vestry was valid, and might be enforced. There was as little doubt that, when the parishioners are duly convened and none think fit to attend, a rate made by the churchwardens alone, who then in effect constitute the majority, is valid. But the question was, what is to be done when the majority refuse a rate—whether the church is to remain in a state of dilapidation, notwithstanding the common-law obligation upon the parishioners, who are compellable to discharge it? The rate sued for in the former Braintree case, it was quite clear, was an invalid rate; but the present rate was under different circumstances, having been made at a vestry duly convened, in obedience to a monition to make a rate for the repairs of the church, at a time when all the parishioners who chose to attend had an opportunity of knowing the nature of the repairs which were required, the amount of the expense, and the mode of the rating. Surely it was no great stretch of authority to hold that a rate so made was widely and substantially different from the other made in a secret conclave. Here the parishioners had an opportunity of objecting to the nature of the repairs, to the amount to be levied, and to the mode of rating. Supposing this to be an invalid rate, there was no mode by which the church could be repaired; it must remain unrepaired, deteriorating every day, and the result might be that this church would become a heap of ruins. See the progress of its decay. In 1834, £35 was expended on the repairs of the church. In 1835, no rate was allowed. In 1836, £175 was required, and a rate was refused. In 1837, £508 was required, and no rate; and in 1841, £700. Nothing could show more strikingly that this church must become in a very short period entirely dilapidated. All the timbers were said to be rotten; the lead had been removed from the roof, and, in short, the parishioners would be unable to resort to the church for divine worship. How, then, was the performance of the common-law obligation to be enforced? The courts of common law would not interfere by mandamus, it having been decided in the Thetford case that this matter was of purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A monition to the parishioners to meet answered no purpose—there had been no want of meetings in this parish; the objection was to make a rate when they were assembled. It had been said that there were anciently two modes of enforcing the obligation—namely, by placing the parish under an interdict; and excommunicating the parishioners for not repairing the church; and these remedies, it had been said, which were proved to be perfectly effectual, and to have produced the desired result, were still in existence. But in those cases the whole parish was punished for the fault of a part; the innocent were punished for the guilty, and an excommunicated person was cut off from all the rest of society. At the present time it would be to punish the innocent alone, for the persons in fault would be the very persons who would make their exclusion from the church a matter for congratulation; whilst the church falling into a dilapidated and ruinous state, the parishioners would be compelled to forego divine worship, or to resort to dissenting chapels. Excommunication was in former times an effectual remedy; but what was the case now? All the civil disabilities attending it were removed by statute; and what would be the effect of selecting a few parties for the punishment substituted? Nor would it be effectual to compel the repairs of the church. And who were to institute the proceedings? How was the Court to be put in motion, and how was the expense of the proceedings to be defrayed? The churchwardens had no funds; they could not be reimbursed expenses out of a church rate, and they had little hope of procuring any previous grant for the purpose, inasmuch as the majority of the parishioners would be the very parties against whom the proceeding was intended. If the parishioners were thus prevented from attending divine offices in their parish church, which was to become a heap of ruins—if such was the state of the law, it was very much to be lamented, and it was greatly to be desired that some mode should be devised to remedy so serious an anomaly in the law. It had been argued that no tax could be imposed upon persons without their own consent; but the making of a church rate was not the imposition of a tax, the tax was already imposed by the common law of the land, and the only question with the parishioners was, how that tax should be distributed amongst themselves most equitably, with reference to the value of the lands and tenements occupied by them, and the occupation of which they entered upon subject to that tax. The making a rate and the imposing a tax were different things: the making of a rate was merely the determining of the proportion in which the parishioners should contribute to the discharge of a common obligation. In the present case the ma-

jority of the parishioners did not object to the necessity of the repairs, or to the estimates, or to the mode of rating; they would not make a rate at all—they said, in effect, "We will not repair the church," for without funds the churchwardens could not repair it, and without a rate they could obtain no funds; so that the refusal of the rate amounted to a declaration that they (the parishioners) would not repair their church. Now, the difficulty in this case was to find authorities on which such a rate as the present could be supported. It was not his intention to travel through the vast body of authorities which had been cited in the different courts in the former case. He had already stated his opinion that no injustice could be done by such a rate, inasmuch as the parishioners had full opportunity of objecting to it on all the grounds upon which a church-rate was open to objection; and he was not aware that it had been laid down by any court (till the case under review was decided in the Consistory court) that a rate so made was illegal. He (the learned judge) could not but think that that case had been, to a certain extent, most unjustly calumniated. It had been said that the case had been repudiated by the court of Queen's Bench, and that court did repudiate it; but he could not but think that the case had not been fairly brought to the notice of that court, labouring as it did under the objections arising from the anomalies and irregularities in the proceedings. The learned judge then entered into a minute history of that case, which was an appeal from the diocesan court of Peterborough to the Arches court, observing that it was a misapprehension on the part of Dr Lushington to suppose that the judge (Sir W. Wynne), in deciding that case, never thought he was deciding the point whether the churchwardens and the minority could make a valid rate. The fact that the rate was made not by the majority had been brought distinctly to his notice, and it could not be supposed that a judge with the knowledge and experience of Sir W. Wynne should have been ignorant of the law with respect to church rates. William Wynne, who was the last person to be suspected of making law, must, therefore, be considered to have decided that a rate by the churchwardens and a minority was a good and valid rate, and might be enforced; that decision was acquiesced in, and was consequently a precedent absolutely in point, and he considered it an authority of very considerable weight. It had been said that the case of "Gaudern v. Selby" had taken the profession by surprise; that they were not aware of such a case, which had not been noticed by the ecclesiastical commissioners. He (Sir H. J. Fust) had not recollected the case, but from his earliest experience at the bar he had always understood that the law was as stated in that case; he had always understood that when a rate for necessary repairs was refused by the majority of the parishioners, a rate made by the churchwardens and the minority was good. His recollection, from the earliest period of his experience at the bar, served him as to that point, and he was equally aware that the opinion of the learned judge of the consistory court was the other way. It appeared to him that the law and the justice of the case required that he should reverse the judgment of the court below. His opinion was in favour of the law as stated by Sir William Wynne, and that the rejection of the libel would be contrary to law and justice. Possibly, in this case, as in the former, the court might be prohibited by the court of Queen's Bench; and this case might travel by writ of error to the Exchequer Chamber, and possibly the result might be, that the law had not been truly laid down by this court, though he had no right to anticipate such a result; or possibly the case might be appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If the case did go up there, the whole question would be then set at rest; and if this rate was pronounced invalid, it would be for the legislature to interfere, and devise some means of compelling parties to discharge their legal obligation. He was of opinion that the judgment of the court below was erroneous; he pronounced for the appeal, retained the principal cause, and admitted the libel, reserving the question of costs.

## GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

On Thursday last a special meeting of the Protestant Dissenting deputies of the three denominations was held at the King's Head tavern, Poultry, to consider the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons against Sir James Graham's Factory Education bill, on the ground that its tendencies "are decidedly in opposition to all day and Sunday schools in which protestant dissenters are interested." Various energetic resolutions on the subject were unanimously adopted.

LONDON AUXILIARY SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.—On Tuesday week a very numerous meeting of this auxiliary was held at the School room, in Monkwell street, to consider the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons against this government measure. Mr W. Groser, Mr Abbott, Mr Mountstephen, and Mr Mullens, with two other gentlemen, addressed the meeting. At its conclusion it was agreed to adjourn until the 28th inst., to consider the best means of resisting the bill in its principles and details.

A special meeting of the committee and representatives of the schools in the South London Auxiliary Sunday School union took place on Friday evening last, at the Vestry of the Borough Road chapel, to take into consideration Sir J. Graham's Factory bill, and to adopt measures for opposing the educational clauses of that measure. The meeting was most numerously attended, and was unanimous in the opinion that the bill involved a violation of the rights of conscience, and that the teachers of this auxiliary were called upon to resist, in every legitimate way, so oppressive a measure. A long discussion took place in which Messrs Green, W. Gover, Howard, D. Pratt, Mark Moore, and Francis, took part, and which ended in the adoption of a resolution to petition parliament against the bill, and to call a public meeting, without delay, on the subject.

The petition sent to the House of Commons against the Factory Districts Education bill, from the congregation meeting in the Borough Road chapel, Southwark, contains the following clause:—"That the bill referred to provides for the establishment of schools in factory districts, in which a large portion of the time is to be employed in communicating religious instruction. Your petitioners submit that this is a subject with which, as a legislative body, your honourable House is not competent to deal, being





taken out of the legitimate sphere of your cognizance by the Divine author of Christianity himself, and that any enactments with regard to it must therefore, in the nature of things, be calculated not to promote, but rather to defeat, the great ends of revealed truth."

**MANCHESTER.**—The independent ministers of Manchester and Salford have, after repeated consultation, resolved to do all they can to prevent the enactment of the projected government measure for the education of factory children. They have already joined in a petition against it, which they have committed to Mark Phillips, Esq., one of their members, and have requested T. Milner Gibson, Esq., to support its prayer. In concurrence with their views, petitions have been sent from the Sunday School unions of Manchester and Salford, and from many of the Sunday schools. Mr J. Brotherton, and several other members of parliament, have been requested to oppose the measure; and a correspondence has been opened with the dissenting bodies in London. But they have resolved on farther measures, and are determined to carry them out with promptitude. A meeting of dissenting ministers, of factory and mill-owners, in the surrounding manufacturing districts, is convened to meet those of Manchester, on Tuesday (28th inst), at half-past three o'clock. At this meeting a series of resolutions, discussing the merits or tendency of the educational clauses of the bill, will be submitted, and if agreed upon, passed for publication; and such other measures adopted as may then be deemed suited to the emergency.—*Manchester Times.*

**HALIFAX.**—At a numerous meeting of the friends of Sunday school instruction, held on Monday evening, March 20, in the School room of Zion chapel, Halifax, after a protracted and animated conversation, it was unanimously resolved to petition parliament on the subject of the contemplated "Factory bill," so far, at least, as it refers to education. A deputation from Halifax has visited Sowerby-bridge, and meetings will be held in four other populous villages, where the obnoxious provisions of the bill will be pointed out. Fifty petitions, besides the ten already sent, are preparing, and all will be forwarded at the proper time.

**LEEDS.**—A numerous and important meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds was held on Wednesday last, at the Commercial buildings. The chair was occupied by G. Baines, Esq. Various resolutions condemnatory of the education scheme were proposed and carried; and energetic addresses delivered by the Revs. T. Scates, J. E. Giles, G. B. McDonald (Wesleyan), C. Wicksteed (unitarian), James Holdforth, Esq. (catholic), W. West, Esq. (Society of Friends), &c.

**LEICESTER.**—A meeting was to be held at Leicester last night, for the purpose of awakening attention to this measure.

**STAFFORDSHIRE.**—In this county the dissenters intend, it is said, to hold public meetings in different places of public worship, at least once a month, to discuss the subject, and arouse public attention.

**KENDAL.**—A petition against this measure—solely in reference to education—was adopted, at a numerous meeting of the secession congregation, Woolpack yard, on Wednesday evening last. A deputation from this town is now in London on the same subject, but the object is mainly to bring about a change in the compulsory regulations as to factories.—*Kendal Mercury.*

The Mayor of Manchester, the Rev. Dr Vaughan, the Rev. Dr Jenkyn, and Thomas Harbottle, Esq., as a deputation from Manchester, had a long audience with Sir J. Graham on Friday, relative to the Factory bill.

On Saturday morning a deputation from the Congregational board, consisting of the Rev. Drs Campbell and Reed, John Burnett, James Sherman, and John Robinson, had an interview with secretary Sir James Graham, at the Home office, on the subject of the education clauses of the Factory bill.

We insert with great pleasure the following spirited address from the students of Airdale college, Bradford, to the students of dissenting colleges of all denominations in England and Wales:—"Brethren—We need not call your attention to the nature and tendency of that most abominable dissent-extinction and church-of-England-universal-extension bill, under the hypocritical name of a bill for the education of children in factory districts, now under the consideration of parliament. Doubtless you have made yourselves already fully acquainted with its anti-civil and anti-religious-freedom principle and details. But permit us to call upon you all to come forth, as one man, to oppose its being passed into a law; and to show to every opponent of our common dissent that the spirit of the puritan fathers still lives, healthy, vigorous, and indomitable, in the hearts of their children. And to show what all of you can do, permit us to lay before you what we felt it our duty to do. As soon as we ascertained the character of the bill we sent a petition against it, signed by tutors and students; and likewise we took with us petitions to all the congregations we supply, and we have done our utmost to get them numerous signed by both members of congregations and teachers of Sabbath schools. This you all can do—this, we have no doubt, you all will gladly perform. Wishing nothing less than eternal extinction to this bill and its principles, and every temporal and spiritual good to you, we are, &c."

**THE SCOTCH KIRK.**—A great non-intrusion demonstration took place in Edinburgh on Wednesday, at which Mr Fox Maule and Mr Campbell of Monzie were present, having come from London for the purpose. On this occasion the separation was talked of as inevitable. "We have nothing now to do," said Dr Candlish, "but to gird up our loins and make pre-

parations—earnest, vigorous, systematic preparations—for the institution of the free presbyterian church of Scotland." Dr Chalmers stated that the contributions to the Central fund amounted to £40,000. At the same meeting Dr Candlish, in proposing a vote of thanks to the members of parliament, who supported the church by their speeches and their votes on the occasion of the late debate in parliament, stated, amid cheers, that Mr Fox Maule had left his parliamentary duties to come to Scotland to build a church at his own expense, to mark his adherence to the great principles for which the church had been struggling, and was now about to suffer.

### Correspondence.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE "PATRIOT."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Can you tell me what ails the *Patriot*? It seems sorely afflicted. It shows signs of paralysis, and is obliged to send out for crutches. I have seen a large foolscap sheet of paper filled with printed testimonials, from no less than seventy dissenting ministers, assuring the public that the *Patriot* is a most excellent paper, and ought to be read by every body. It possibly did not occur to these gentlemen that the public are able to decide on so simple a question as the merits of a periodical without their assistance. Judging from the number of doctors called in, I should say that the *Patriot* is dangerously ill—but I question the wisdom of this move. It adds little to the respectability of any cause, to have recourse to quackery. It may be all very well, for aught I know, in the case of "Warren's blacking," "Rowland's Macassar oil," or "old Parr's life pills," but in the instance of periodical literature it strikes me as below the mark. Besides people now-a-days are disposed to think for themselves, and to pay very little attention to sacerdotal dictation. They have a shrewd suspicion that there is a good deal of aristocratic assumption, and quite enough of jesuitry, even among us dissenting divines; and they are disinclined to follow, spaniel-like, in our wake. The times will not allow us to be priestly, even if we would, without in that proportion becoming ridiculous.

It is droll enough that these testimonials to the claims of the poor *Patriot*, proceed on the supposition that it is the only paper in existence which consistently supports the great cause of protestant dissent. There is an amusing attempt to give you the go-by—to treat the *Nonconformist* as a nonentity. These distinguished divines are not supposed to know, that so vile and feeble an organ as yours, sir, has an existence. They look down upon you with pity and contempt. Should these testimonials be published, the *animus* of them would amuse some and disgust others. They have a double meaning, and would repay an attentive commentary. The meanness of all this is apparent enough, but the policy is equally bad. Folks can see through these disguises—the craft is clumsily hid. A display of names, however respectable, only serves to render the contrivance the more conspicuous.

I had ceased to read the *Patriot*, sir, long before your paper was born, and have felt little inducement to return to it. It has been my opinion for years, that it retarded instead of advanced the principles of religious freedom, an opinion entertained much more widely than the "seventy" suppose. Its recent low abuse of Joseph Sturge, Esq., and of the great cause he is seeking to promote, has drawn down upon it the just indignation of honest men; nor can all the dissenting ministers the *Patriot* can cajole, screen it from the deserts of its gratuitous malignity. Gentlemen who profess to be shocked by the disposition of ministers to become politicians, and many of whom are shareholders in the *Patriot*, or are closely connected with those who are, cannot expect to work miracles by a chain of written commendations in favour of their trembling and erring pet.

When you are reduced, Mr Editor, to your last shifts, and have lost all self-respect, you may, doubtless, get up a counter puff. We can muster a couple of hundred ministerial testimonials for you, I have no doubt. Whether you must expect quite so many diplomas, it is hard to say, though these have become so plenty of late, that I am not without hopes even on this head. Go on, sir, in your manly, independent course; let the same powerful and acute advocacy of the glorious principles of nonconformity, with the same earnest love of truth, which have hitherto distinguished you, continue to adorn your paper, and you may laugh at all attempts, whether open or concealed, to stay your progress. You have already placed the nation under deep obligations to you, and have commanded the admiration of your adversaries. You have the hearts of thousands of your dissenting friends, and of tens of thousands of the community with you, and have no occasion to descend to the low artifices of your neighbours.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,  
A DISSENTING MINISTER.

#### BIBLE MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Having lately seen Bibles, issued by the Bible society, handsomely bound in embossed leather, with gilt edges, selling at 1s. 6d. and 2s. each, I am induced to inquire how it is that they are enabled now to supply such handsome books at this price, when, about three years since, they issued an edition for special use in Sabbath schools, meanly bound, with a badge (to prevent their general circulation), at the same cost, trumpeting it forth as a great boon to the poor, but which in a short time they withdrew, alleging that the loss upon them was too great? By the advertisements of the master bookbinders they would fain have it believed that the reduction is not made in the wages of the men—from what source, then, are they enabled to make this reduction? and why was it not made years ago?

I always thought that the great object of a Bible society was to facilitate the circulation of the Bible, and this by selling it at such a cost as should put it within the reach of all; instead of which, I find by the 37th report "that a portion of the blame (if blame there be) for the comparatively high price which has been paid for the Scriptures attaches to themselves"—thus, by their own showing, they have been the means of withholding the Word of God. Dissenting ministers appear to be awake to the evils of a monopoly of the staff of life, and are laudably and zealously exerting themselves to obtain the removal of so obnoxious a restriction; when will they address themselves to a due sense of their position "as ambassadors for Christ," and, in their zeal for their Master's glory, with a like energy strive together to re-

move the more baneful monopoly of the Bread of Life? I fear they will not do this till it is equally as respectable to interfere with the mismanagement of our religious institutions as it is to be found uniting with the world for worldly purposes. I am, yours obediently,  
March 24, 1843. M. A.

#### THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MY DEAR SIR—I thank you for the insertion of my former inquiries, but must beg to say to you and to Mr Jones, that the "note appended" and the eight years finance report of the "Religious Tract society" are not satisfactory; and I say this without insinuating anything against the "body of disinterested gentlemen who manage the institution."

In the first place, the Religious Tract society is both a trading society and a benevolent institution; but in both capacities it was set up by the public, and as such, responsible alike for its trading as well as its benevolent works: it is only in its latter character that it figures before the public. Who ever heard of the stock, material, stereotype plates, &c., being put down in the items of the society?—of the *sales* effected and the amount of profits? Mr Jones says upwards of sixteen thousand pounds were expended beyond the subscriptions received. What, something more than two thousand per year only? and then more than seven hundred and fifty pounds per annum for distributing this sum. But upon what amount of business is this sum of money raised? and is this all that was raised during the past eight years? because I contend the public have as great a right to know what the trading department is doing, as they have to know what in the way of benevolence is being done.

Perhaps the stock, as taken for the last eight years, will be referred to by your excellent correspondent and secretary of the Religious Tract society, and that he will give us the sales for that period of time; at what per cent. profit; the stock now on hand; material, machines, stereotype plates, amount of copyright, debts due, &c.; on the other hand, rent, wages, agency, purchases, liabilities, and any other charge; so that when the subscriptions and profits are added together, the public may see whether the Tract society are doing all they can, all they ought, for the world; and whether all they are doing is done in the most economical way.

Mr Jones must be content to deal with a man in a mask, who, if he were to come to the Tract society depot would be doing that in private which the integrity of Mr Jones would have go before the public. I shall, therefore, await a reply, and remain,

My dear sir, yours,  
OBSERVER.

#### COMPULSORY CLERICAL EDUCATION AND COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR—Letters from me have frequently appeared in the *Nonconformist*, sent by the Council of the Complete Suffrage Union, but I do not remember ever writing to you directly on that subject. I now write to state a simple fact or two, and to ask those dissenters who read your paper a simple question.

The proposed government education bill, which is sure to be passed, has excited feelings of profound indignation among liberals and dissenters in this neighbourhood. It is the most obnoxious measure ever threatened to a people calling themselves free. Many of my friends who found fault with me on account of my adherence to the principles advocated with a master-hand in your paper, have had their eyes opened, and have acknowledged that I am right, and that nothing short of extending the suffrage to the just limits, will save this country from absolute tyranny. A member of my church has told me that he would rather be led to the stake than be compelled by this bill to sell his children into the hands of the clergy of the established religion. I apprehend that this measure will create tens of thousands of complete suffragists. Will dissenters, generally, remain contented with a limited and therefore unjust franchise?

I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,  
WM LEASK.

Chapmanslade, Frome, March 27, 1843.

#### POLICY OF THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE PARTY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I am fearful that the council of the Complete Suffrage Union, and the leading friends of the movement, will be discouraged by the apparent apathy of the public, with regard to Mr Sharman Crawford's bill. I wish to guard them against this mistake. The indifference of the people is entirely owing to the despair which they feel of obtaining any concessions from the present parliament. I am an elector of Middlesex and Herts, and am acquainted with the views of a great many other electors of both counties, and I know that they are sick of petitioning parliament, and of memorialising individual members. I question whether even the Anti-corn-law League, with its immense machinery, can overcome the objections which are now felt to waste time and money upon petitions and memorials. The delivery of public lectures, and the distribution of tracts, are the most popular and promising means that can now be used to advance the complete suffrage cause. I think the council of the Union would also do well to be prepared to contest, not only every borough, but also every county in which a vacancy may occur. I believe the Nottingham, Southampton, and Ipswich contests did more to inspire our friends with courage, and our opponents with fear, than any other steps that the council have hitherto taken. I believe the electors of every county would, if appealed to, cheerfully subscribe the funds absolutely necessary for the contest—that is, to pay for the printing and the polling booths. I regret exceedingly that the Ashburton and Warwickshire elections have been suffered to pass without an effort; and I hope the council will not let Tavistock slip in the same way. As to the *Patriot* newspaper, and those of the dissenting ministry who encourage its attacks upon the suffrage movement, they are not worth notice. If the dissenters of London choose to be the slaves of whiggery and priestcraft, those of the provinces will not follow their despicable example. Let me entreat that ornament of his race, Joseph Sturge, to press forward, undaunted by the combined opposition of false friends and open foes. In conclusion, I beg you to accept of my warmest thanks for your honest and straight-forward advocacy of your country's cause.

I remain, your sincere admirer,  
Brentford, March 11, 1843. J. F. BONTEMS.



## THE BRAINTREE CHURCH RATE CASE.

Veley and Joslin v. Gosling.

In the Arches court, on Saturday, Sir H. Jenner Fust gave sentence in this case, which was an appeal from the Consistory court of London, in a suit for subtraction of church rate, promoted by the churchwardens of the parish of Braintree, Essex, against Mr John Gosling, a parishioner and inhabitant. The court below (of which Dr Lushington was judge) rejected the libel, on the ground that the rate, which had been made by the churchwardens and the minority of the parishioners assembled at a vestry meeting, summoned in obedience to a monition to make a rate for the repair of the church, the majority refusing to make any rate, was illegal and invalid. The importance of Sir H. J. Fust's decision induces us to give, as fully as possible, his judgment on this occasion:—

The learned Dean of the Arches commenced by observing that the parish of Braintree had obtained a considerable degree of notoriety from the determined opposition given by a great majority of its inhabitants to church rates. In 1837 a question as to the validity of a rate in that parish gave rise to proceedings which commenced in the Consistory court of London, and went to the courts of common law, being finally adjudicated in the court of Exchequer Chamber. In that case the majority of the parishioners in vestry having refused a rate, the churchwardens, not at the same vestry meeting, but several days after, and without any further notice to the parishioners, made a rate by themselves. The judge of the Consistory court, contrary to his own opinion, admitted the libel in a suit against Mr Burder, a parishioner, for the recovery of his quota of this rate, conceiving himself bound by the authority of a case in this court, that of "Gaudern v. Selby," in 1796. A prohibition having issued from the court of King's Bench, the plaintiff in prohibition declared, the defendant demurred, and the judgment of the court was against the validity of that rate. The case then went by writ of error to the court of Exchequer Chamber, which affirmed the judgment of the court of King's Bench. In delivering the decision of the judges (eight in number) in the Exchequer Chamber, Lord Chief Justice Tindal stated that the questions to be determined were—first, whether the churchwardens, after a rate for the necessary repairs of the church had been proposed to the parishioners in vestry and refused by a majority, could of their own sole authority, at a subsequent time, by themselves, and not at any parish meeting, impose a valid rate on the parishioners; secondly, whether a court of common law could issue a writ of prohibition to the spiritual court to stay proceedings to enforce payment of such a rate. The court of Exchequer Chamber was of opinion that such a rate was invalid, and that the writ of prohibition was properly issued; but the Lord Chief Justice expressed that opinion in a guarded manner, and accompanied it with this observation—"It is obvious that there is a wide and substantial difference between the churchwardens alone, or the churchwardens and the minority together, making a rate at the meeting of the parishioners when the refusal takes place, and the churchwardens possessing the power of rating the parish by themselves at any future time, however distant. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss that point, as the facts of this case do not bring it before us; it is sufficient to say, whilst we give no opinion upon it, that we desire to be understood as reserving to ourselves the liberty of forming an opinion whenever the case shall occur." These expressions were very remarkable. The Lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench had expressed his opinion that no rate could be valid unless made with the consent of the majority of the parishioners; but the court of Exchequer Chamber did not affirm so general a proposition; they guarded themselves against being supposed to do so; they recognised a "wide and substantial difference" between a rate made by churchwardens and the minority at the same vestry where a rate had been refused, and a rate made by the churchwardens alone at a subsequent time, which was the case in the former Braintree suit. The prohibition in that case put a stop to the proceedings; but still the church continued in a state of great dilapidation, and the necessity of repairs being very pressing, the churchwardens adopted the suggestion thrown out by Lord Chief Justice Tindal. In order that the proceedings should be perfectly regular, a decree under the seal of the Consistory court of London, issued at the instance of the vicar, called upon the churchwardens and parishioners to appear and show cause why they should not meet in vestry to make a rate for the necessary repairs of the church. The churchwardens appeared, and professed a readiness to obey the directions of the court. No appearance was given on the part of the parishioners, and as no objection was therefore made on their part, a monition issued, requiring them to meet in vestry on a certain day, and to make a rate for the necessary repairs of the church. In obedience to this monition the churchwardens convened a vestry, at which they submitted the surveys and estimates, and proposed a rate of 2s. in the pound. An amendment was, however, moved, to the effect that the parishioners were bound by religious principles and social feelings not to grant a rate, which amendment was carried, being tantamount to a refusal of the rate. Thereupon the churchwardens, with the minority, at the same meeting, in obedience to the monition, and in discharging the obligation cast upon them, made a rate of 2s. in the pound, the rate in question. The real and substantial objection offered to the rate in the court below was, that it was made by a minority of the parishioners in vestry. This being the simple question, it was unnecessary for this court to go into a lengthened inquiry as to the nature and origin of the obligation upon the parishioners to repair their parish church, or into the antiquity of making a rate for that purpose, because the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in delivering the judgment of the court of Exchequer Chamber, had distinctly laid it down, "that the obligation by which the parishioners are bound to repair the body of their parish church whenever necessary, and to provide all things essential to the performance of divine service therein, is an obligation imposed on them by the common law of the land." This was a sufficient authority for him (the learned judge) to hold that the burden of repairing the church lies upon the parishioners. Such being the obligation, the next subject of inquiry was the effect of it. Here again Lord Chief Justice Tindal had laid it down, that "The repair of the fabric of the church is a duty which the parishioners are compellable to perform, not a mere voluntary act which they may perform or decline at their own discretion; that the law is imperative upon them

absolutely that they do repair the church, not binding on them in a qualified or limited manner only, that they may repair or not, as they think fit; and that where it so happens that the fabric of the church stands in need of repair, the only question upon which the parishioners when convened together to make a rate can by law deliberate and determine is, not whether they will repair the church or not (for upon that point they are concluded by the law), but how and in what manner the common law obligation so binding them may be best and most effectually, and at the same most conveniently, performed and carried into effect." Every word of this was most important for the consideration of this court, and deserving of the utmost attention, not only as coming from the very learned person from whom it emanated, and from the clear and lucid manner in which he stated what the extent of this common law obligation is, but because it expressed, not merely his own opinion, but the opinion of his seven learned brethren. The next question would be, in what manner is this common law obligation to be enforced? He would not enter into the question whether the obligation was by the *jus commune laicum*, or the *jus commune ecclesiasticum*; if by the former, the temporal courts would enforce it; if by the latter, the spiritual courts. Lord Chief Justice Tindal says—"The parishioners have not more power to throw off the burden of the repair of the church than that of the repair of bridges and highways, the compelling of the performance of the latter obligation belonging exclusively to the temporal courts; whilst that of the former has been exercised usually, though perhaps not necessarily exclusively, by the spiritual courts from time immemorial." Now, from what he had said, these principles arose:—1st, that the obligation to repair is absolute; 2d, that the performance of the obligation may be compelled; 3d, that the performance of the obligation may be properly enforced by the ecclesiastical court, subject, nevertheless, to the control of the courts of common law where the ecclesiastical court exceeds its jurisdiction. Now, what was necessary to constitute a valid church rate? Nobody doubted (as Lord Chief Justice Tindal said) that a rate made by the majority of the parishioners in vestry was valid, and might be enforced. There was as little doubt that, when the parishioners are duly convened and none think fit to attend, a rate made by the churchwardens alone, who then in effect constitute the majority, is valid. But the question was, what is to be done when the majority refuse a rate—whether the church is to remain in a state of dilapidation, notwithstanding the common-law obligation upon the parishioners, who are compellable to discharge it? The rate sued for in the former Braintree case, it was quite clear, was an invalid rate; but the present rate was under different circumstances, having been made at a vestry duly convened, in obedience to a monition to make a rate for the repairs of the church, at a time when all the parishioners who chose to attend had an opportunity of knowing the nature of the repairs which were required, the amount of the expense, and the mode of the rating. Surely it was no great stretch of authority to hold that a rate so made was widely and substantially different from the other made in a secret conclave. Here the parishioners had an opportunity of objecting to the nature of the repairs, to the amount to be levied, and to the mode of rating. Supposing this to be an invalid rate, there was no mode by which the church could be repaired; it must remain unrepaired, deteriorating every day, and the result might be that this church would become a heap of ruins. See the progress of its decay. In 1834, £35 was expended on the repairs of the church. In 1835, no rate was allowed. In 1836, £175 was required, and a rate was refused. In 1837, £508 was required, and no rate; and in 1841, £700. Nothing could show more strikingly that this church must become in a very short period entirely dilapidated. All the timbers were said to be rotten; the lead had been removed from the roof, and, in short, the parishioners would be unable to resort to the church for divine worship. How, then, was the performance of the common-law obligation to be enforced? The courts of common law would not interfere by mandamus, it having been decided in the *Thetford* case that this matter was of purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A monition to the parishioners to meet answered no purpose—there had been no want of meetings in this parish; the objection was to make a rate when they were assembled. It had been said that there were anciently two modes of enforcing the obligation—namely, by placing the parish under an interdict; and excommunicating the parishioners for not repairing the church; and these remedies, it had been said, which were proved to be perfectly effectual, and to have produced the desired result, were still in existence. But in those cases the whole parish was punished for the fault of a part; the innocent were punished for the guilty, and an excommunicated person was cut off from all the rest of society. At the present time it would be to punish the innocent alone, for the persons in fault would be the very persons who would make their exclusion from the church a matter for congratulation; whilst the church falling into a dilapidated and ruinous state, the parishioners would be compelled to forego divine worship, or to resort to dissenting chapels. Excommunication was in former times an effectual remedy; but what was the case now? All the civil disabilities attending it were removed by statute; and what would be the effect of selecting a few parties for the punishment substituted? Nor would it be effectual to compel the repairs of the church. And who were to institute the proceedings? How was the Court to be put in motion, and how was the expense of the proceedings to be defrayed? The churchwardens had no funds; they could not be reimbursed expenses out of a church rate, and they had little hope of procuring any previous grant for the purpose, inasmuch as the majority of the parishioners would be the very parties against whom the proceeding was intended. If the parishioners were thus prevented from attending divine offices in their parish church, which was to become a heap of ruins—if such was the state of the law, it was very much to be lamented, and it was greatly to be desired that some mode should be devised to remedy so serious an anomaly in the law. It had been argued that no tax could be imposed upon persons without their own consent; but the making of a church rate was not the imposition of a tax, the tax was already imposed by the common law of the land, and the only question with the parishioners was, how that tax should be distributed amongst themselves most equitably, with reference to the value of the lands and tenements occupied by them, and the occupation of which they entered upon subject to that tax. The making a rate and the imposing a tax were different things; the making of a rate was merely the determining of the proportion in which the parishioners should contribute to the discharge of a common obligation. In the present case the ma-

jority of the parishioners did not object to the necessity of the repairs, or to the estimates, or to the mode of rating; they would not make a rate at all—they said, in effect, "We will not repair the church," for without funds the churchwardens could not repair it, and without a rate they could obtain no funds; so that the refusal of the rate amounted to a declaration that they (the parishioners) would not repair their church. Now, the difficulty in this case was to find authorities on which such a rate as the present could be supported. It was not his intention to travel through the vast body of authorities which had been cited in the different courts in the former case. He had already stated his opinion that no injustice could be done by such a rate, inasmuch as the parishioners had full opportunity of objecting to it on all the grounds upon which a church-rate was open to objection; and he was not aware that it had been laid down by any court (till the case under review was decided in the Consistory court) that a rate so made was illegal. He (the learned judge) could not but think that that case had been, to a certain extent, most unjustly calumniated. It had been said that the case had been repudiated by the court of Queen's Bench, and that court did repudiate it; but he could not but think that the case had not been fairly brought to the notice of that court, labouring as it did under the objections arising from the anomalies and irregularities in the proceedings. The learned judge then entered into a minute history of that case, which was an appeal from the diocesan court of Peterborough to the Arches court, observing that it was a misapprehension on the part of Dr Lushington to suppose that the judge (Sir W. Wynne), in deciding that case, never thought he was deciding the point whether the churchwardens and the minority could make a valid rate. The fact that the rate was made not by the majority had been brought distinctly to his notice, and it could not be supposed that a judge with the knowledge and experience of Sir W. Wynne should have been ignorant of the law with respect to church rates. William Wynne, who was the last person to be suspected of making law, must, therefore, be considered to have decided that a rate by the churchwardens and a minority was a good and valid rate, and might be enforced; that decision was acquiesced in, and was consequently a precedent absolutely in point, and he considered it an authority of very considerable weight. It had been said that the case of "Gaudern v. Selby" had taken the profession by surprise; that they were not aware of such a case, which had not been noticed by the ecclesiastical commissioners. He (Sir H. J. Fust) had not recollected the case, but from his earliest experience at the bar he had always understood that the law was as stated in that case; he had always understood that when a rate for necessary repairs was refused by the majority of the parishioners, a rate made by the churchwardens and the minority was good. His recollection, from the earliest period of his experience at the bar, served him as to that point, and he was equally aware that the opinion of the learned judge of the consistory court was the other way. It appeared to him that the law and the justice of the case required that he should reverse the judgment of the court below. His opinion was in favour of the law as stated by Sir William Wynne, and that the rejection of the libel would be contrary to law and justice. Possibly, in this case, as in the former, the court might be prohibited by the court of Queen's Bench; and this case might travel by writ of error to the Exchequer Chamber, and possibly the result might be, that the law had not been truly laid down by this court, though he had no right to anticipate such a result; or possibly the case might be appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If the case did go up there, the whole question would be then set at rest; and if this rate was pronounced invalid, it would be for the legislature to interfere, and devise some means of compelling parties to discharge their legal obligation. He was of opinion that the judgment of the court below was erroneous; he pronounced for the appeal, retained the principal cause, and admitted the libel, reserving the question of costs.

## GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

On Thursday last a special meeting of the Protestant Dissenting deputies of the three denominations was held at the King's Head tavern, Poultry, to consider the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons against Sir James Graham's Factory Education bill, on the ground that its tendencies "are decidedly in opposition to all day and Sunday schools in which protestant dissenters are interested." Various energetic resolutions on the subject were unanimously adopted.

LONDON AUXILIARY SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.—On Tuesday week a very numerous meeting of this auxiliary was held at the School room, in Monkwell street, to consider the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons against this government measure. Mr W. Groser, Mr Abbott, Mr Mountstephen, and Mr Mullens, with two other gentlemen, addressed the meeting. At its conclusion it was agreed to adjourn until the 28th inst, to consider the best means of resisting the bill in its principles and details.

A special meeting of the committee and representatives of the schools in the South London Auxiliary Sunday School union took place on Friday evening last, at the Vestry of the Borough Road chapel, to take into consideration Sir J. Graham's Factory bill, and to adopt measures for opposing the educational clauses of that measure. The meeting was most numerously attended, and was unanimous in the opinion that the bill involved a violation of the rights of conscience, and that the teachers of this auxiliary were called upon to resist, in every legitimate way, so oppressive a measure. A long discussion took place in which Messrs Green, W. Gover, Howard, D. Pratt, Mark Moore, and Francis, took part, and which ended in the adoption of a resolution to petition parliament against the bill, and to call a public meeting, without delay, on the subject.

The petition sent to the House of Commons against the Factory Districts Education bill, from the congregation meeting in the Borough Road chapel, Southwark, contains the following clause:—"That the bill referred to provides for the establishment of schools in factory districts, in which a large portion of the time is to be employed in communicating religious instruction. Your petitioners submit that this is a subject with which, as a legislative body, your honourable House is not competent to deal, being



taken out of the legitimate sphere of your cognizance by the Divine author of Christianity himself, and that any enactments with regard to it must therefore, in the nature of things, be calculated not to promote, but rather to defeat, the great ends of revealed truth."

**MANCHESTER.**—The independent ministers of Manchester and Salford have, after repeated consultation, resolved to do all they can to prevent the enactment of the projected government measure for the education of factory children. They have already joined in a petition against it, which they have committed to Mark Phillips, Esq., one of their members, and have requested T. Milner Gibson, Esq., to support its prayer. In concurrence with their views, petitions have been sent from the Sunday School unions of Manchester and Salford, and from many of the Sunday schools. Mr J. Brotherton, and several other members of parliament, have been requested to oppose the measure; and a correspondence has been opened with the dissenting bodies in London. But they have resolved on farther measures, and are determined to carry them out with promptitude. A meeting of dissenting ministers, of factory and mill-owners, in the surrounding manufacturing districts, is convened to meet those of Manchester, on Tuesday (28th inst), at half-past three o'clock. At this meeting a series of resolutions, discussing the merits or tendency of the educational clauses of the bill, will be submitted, and if agreed upon, passed for publication; and such other measures adopted as may then be deemed suited to the emergency.—*Manchester Times.*

**HALIFAX.**—At a numerous meeting of the friends of Sunday school instruction, held on Monday evening, March 20, in the School room of Zion chapel, Halifax, after a protracted and animated conversation, it was unanimously resolved to petition parliament on the subject of the contemplated "Factory bill," so far, at least, as it refers to education. A deputation from Halifax has visited Sowerby-bridge, and meetings will be held in four other populous villages, where the obnoxious provisions of the bill will be pointed out. Fifty petitions, besides the ten already sent, are preparing, and all will be forwarded at the proper time.

**LEEDS.**—A numerous and important meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds was held on Wednesday last, at the Commercial buildings. The chair was occupied by G. Baines, Esq. Various resolutions condemnatory of the education scheme were proposed and carried; and energetic addresses delivered by the Revs. T. Scales, J. E. Giles, G. B. McDonald (Wesleyan), C. Wicksteed (unitarian), James Holdforth, Esq. (catholic), W. West, Esq. (Society of Friends), &c.

**LEICESTER.**—A meeting was to be held at Leicester last night, for the purpose of awakening attention to this measure.

**STAFFORDSHIRE.**—In this county the dissenters intend, it is said, to hold public meetings in different places of public worship, at least once a month, to discuss the subject, and arouse public attention.

**KENDAL.**—A petition against this measure—solely in reference to education—was adopted, at a numerous meeting of the secession congregation, Woolpack yard, on Wednesday evening last. A deputation from this town is now in London on the same subject, but the object is mainly to bring about a change in the compulsory regulations as to factories.—*Kendal Mercury.*

The Mayor of Manchester, the Rev. Dr Vaughan, the Rev. Dr Jenkyn, and Thomas Harbottle, Esq., as a deputation from Manchester, had a long audience with Sir J. Graham on Friday, relative to the Factory bill.

On Saturday morning a deputation from the Congregational board, consisting of the Rev. Drs Campbell and Reed, John Burnett, James Sherman, and John Robinson, had an interview with secretary Sir James Graham, at the Home office, on the subject of the education clauses of the Factory bill.

We insert with great pleasure the following spirited address from the students of Airdale college, Bradford, to the students of dissenting colleges of all denominations in England and Wales:—"Brethren—We need not call your attention to the nature and tendency of that most abominable dissent-extinction and church-of-England-universal-extension bill, under the hypocritical name of a bill for the education of children in factory districts, now under the consideration of parliament. Doubtless you have made yourselves already fully acquainted with its anti-civil and anti-religious-freedom principle and details. But permit us to call upon you all to come forth, as one man, to oppose its being passed into a law; and to show to every opponent of our common dissent that the spirit of the puritan fathers still lives, healthy, vigorous, and indomitable, in the hearts of their children. And to show what all of you can do, permit us to lay before you what we felt it our duty to do. As soon as we ascertained the character of the bill we sent a petition against it, signed by tutors and students; and likewise we took with us petitions to all the congregations we supply, and we have done our utmost to get them numerously signed by both members of congregations and teachers of Sabbath schools. This you all can do—this, we have no doubt, you all will gladly perform. Wishing nothing less than eternal extinction to this bill and its principles, and every temporal and spiritual good to you, we are, &c."

**THE SCOTCH KIRK.**—A great non-intrusion demonstration took place in Edinburgh on Wednesday, at which Mr Fox Maule and Mr Campbell of Monzie were present, having come from London for the purpose. On this occasion the separation was talked of as inevitable. "We have nothing now to do," said Dr Candlish, "but to gird up our loins and make pre-

parations—earnest, vigorous, systematic preparations—for the institution of the free presbyterian church of Scotland." Dr Chalmers stated that the contributions to the Central fund amounted to £40,000. At the same meeting Dr Candlish, in proposing a vote of thanks to the members of parliament, who supported the church by their speeches and their votes on the occasion of the late debate in parliament, stated, amid cheers, that Mr Fox Maule had left his parliamentary duties to come to Scotland to build a church at his own expense, to mark his adherence to the great principles for which the church had been struggling, and was now about to suffer.

### Correspondence.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE "PATRIOT."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Can you tell me what ails the *Patriot*? It seems sorely afflicted. It shows signs of paralysis, and is obliged to send out for crutches. I have seen a large foolscap sheet of paper filled with printed testimonials, from no less than seventy dissenting ministers, assuring the public that the *Patriot* is a most excellent paper, and ought to be read by every body. It possibly did not occur to these gentlemen that the public are able to decide on so simple a question as the merits of a periodical without their assistance. Judging from the number of doctors called in, I should say that the *Patriot* is dangerously ill—but I question the wisdom of this move. It adds little to the respectability of any cause, to have recourse to quackery. It may be all very well, for aught I know, in the case of "Warren's blacking," "Rowland's Macassar oil," or "old Parr's life pills," but in the instance of periodical literature it strikes me as below the mark. Besides people now-a-days are disposed to think for themselves, and to pay very little attention to sacerdotal dictation. They have a shrewd suspicion that there is a good deal of aristocratic assumption, and quite enough of jesuitry, even among us dissenting divines; and they are disinclined to follow, spaniel-like, in our wake. The times will not allow us to be priestly, even if we would, without in that proportion becoming ridiculous.

It is droll enough that these testimonials to the claims of the poor *Patriot*, proceed on the supposition that it is the only paper in existence which consistently supports the great cause of protestant dissent. There is an amusing attempt to give you the go-by—to treat the *Nonconformist* as a nonentity. These distinguished divines are not supposed to know, that so vile and feeble an organ as yours, sir, has an existence. They look down upon you with pity and contempt. Should these testimonials be published, the *animus* of them would amuse some and disgust others. They have a double meaning, and would repay an attentive commentary. The meanness of all this is apparent enough, but the policy is equally bad. Folks can see through these disguises—the craft is clumsily hid. A display of names, however respectable, only serves to render the contrivance the more conspicuous.

I had ceased to read the *Patriot*, sir, long before your paper was born, and have felt little inducement to return to it. It has been my opinion for years, that it retarded instead of advanced the principles of religious freedom, an opinion entertained much more widely than the "seventy" suppose. Its recent low abuse of Joseph Sturge, Esq., and of the great cause he is seeking to promote, has drawn down upon it the just indignation of honest men; nor can all the dissenting ministers the *Patriot* can cajole, screen it from the deserts of its gratuitous malignity. Gentlemen who profess to be shocked by the disposition of ministers to become politicians, and many of whom are shareholders in the *Patriot*, or are closely connected with those who are, cannot expect to work miracles by a chain of written commendations in favour of their trembling and erring pet.

When you are reduced, Mr Editor, to your last shifts, and have lost all self-respect, you may, doubtless, get up a counter puff. We can muster a couple of hundred ministerial testimonials for you, I have no doubt. Whether you must expect quite so many diplomas, it is hard to say, though these have become so plenty of late, that I am not without hopes even on this head. Go on, sir, in your manly, independent course; let the same powerful and acute advocacy of the glorious principles of nonconformity, with the same earnest love of truth, which have hitherto distinguished you, continue to adorn your paper, and you may laugh at all attempts, whether open or concealed, to stay your progress. You have already placed the nation under deep obligations to you, and have commanded the admiration of your adversaries. You have the hearts of thousands of your dissenting friends, and of tens of thousands of the community with you, and have no occasion to descend to the low artifices of your neighbours.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,  
A DISSENTING MINISTER.

#### BIBLE MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Having lately seen Bibles, issued by the Bible society, handsomely bound in embossed leather, with gilt edges, selling at 1s. 6d. and 2s. each, I am induced to inquire how it is that they are enabled now to supply such handsome books at this price, when, about three years since, they issued an edition for special use in Sabbath schools, meanly bound, with a badge (to prevent their general circulation), at the same cost, trumpeting it forth as a great boon to the poor, but which in a short time they withdrew, alleging that the loss upon them was too great? By the advertisements of the master bookbinders they would fain have it believed that the reduction is not made in the wages of the men—from what source, then, are they enabled to make this reduction? and why was it not made years ago?

I always thought that the great object of a Bible society was to facilitate the circulation of the Bible, and this by selling it at such a cost as should put it within the reach of all; instead of which, I find by the 37th report "that a portion of the blame (if blame there be) for the comparatively high price which has been paid for the Scriptures attaches to themselves"—thus, by their own showing, they have been the means of withholding the Word of God. Dissenting ministers appear to be awake to the evils of a monopoly of the staff of life, and are laudably and zealously exerting themselves to obtain the removal of so obnoxious a restriction; when will they arouse themselves to a due sense of their position "as ambassadors for Christ," and, in their zeal for their Master's glory, with a like energy strive together to re-

move the more baneful monopoly of the Bread of Life? I fear they will not do this till it is equally as respectable to interfere with the mismanagement of our religious institutions as it is to be found uniting with the world for worldly purposes. I am, yours obediently,  
March 24, 1843. M. A.

#### THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MY DEAR SIR—I thank you for the insertion of my former inquiries, but must beg to say to you and to Mr Jones, that the "note appended" and the eight years finance report of the "Religious Tract society" are not satisfactory; and I say this without insinuating anything against the "body of disinterested gentlemen who manage the institution."

In the first place, the Religious Tract society is both a trading society and a benevolent institution; but in both capacities it was set up by the public, and as such, responsible alike for its trading as well as its benevolent works: it is only in its latter character that it figures before the public. Who ever heard of the stock, material, stereotype plates, &c., being put down in the items of the society?—of the sales effected and the amount of profits? Mr Jones says upwards of sixteen thousand pounds were expended beyond the subscriptions received. What, something more than two thousand per year only? and then more than seven hundred and fifty pounds per annum for distributing this sum. But upon what amount of business is this sum of money raised? because I contended the public have as great a right to know what the trading department is doing, as they have to know what in the way of benevolence is being done.

Perhaps the stock, as taken for the last eight years, will be referred to by your excellent correspondent and secretary of the Religious Tract society, and that he will give us the sales for that period of time; at what percent profit; the stock now on hand; material, machines, stereotype plates, amount of copyright, debts due, &c.; on the other hand, rent, wages, agency, purchases, liabilities, and any other charge; so that when the subscriptions and profits are added together, the public may see whether the Tract society are doing all they can, all they ought, for the world; and whether all they are doing is done in the most economical way.

Mr Jones must be content to deal with a man in a mask, who, if he were to come to the Tract society depot would be doing that in private which the integrity of Mr Jones would have go before the public. I shall, therefore, await a reply, and remain,

My dear sir, yours,  
OBSERVER.

#### COMPULSORY CLERICAL EDUCATION AND COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR—Letters from me have frequently appeared in the *Nonconformist*, sent by the Council of the Complete Suffrage Union, but I do not remember ever writing to you directly on that subject. I now write to state a simple fact or two, and to ask those dissenters who read your paper a simple question.

The proposed government education bill, which is sure to be passed, has excited feelings of profound indignation among liberals and dissenters in this neighbourhood. It is the most obnoxious measure ever threatened to a people calling themselves free. Many of my friends who found fault with me on account of my adherence to the principles advocated with a master-hand in your paper, have had their eyes opened, and have acknowledged that I am right, and that nothing short of extending the suffrage to the just limits, will save this country from absolute tyranny. A member of my church has told me that he would rather be led to the stake than be compelled by this bill to sell his children into the hands of the clergy of the established religion. I apprehend that this measure will create tens of thousands of complete suffragists. Will dissenters, generally, remain contented with a limited and therefore unjust franchise?

I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,  
WM LEASK.

Chapmanslade, Frome, March 27, 1843.

#### POLICY OF THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE PARTY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I am fearful that the council of the Complete Suffrage Union, and the leading friends of the movement, will be discouraged by the apparent apathy of the public, with regard to Mr Sharman Crawford's bill. I wish to guard them against this mistake. The indifference of the people is entirely owing to the despair which they feel of obtaining any concessions from the present parliament. I am an elector of Middlesex and Herts, and am acquainted with the views of a great many other electors of both counties, and I know that they are sick of petitioning parliament, and of memorialising individual members. I question whether even the Anti-corn-law League, with its immense machinery, can overcome the objections which are now felt to waste time and money upon petitions and memorials. The delivery of public lectures, and the distribution of tracts, are the most popular and promising means that can now be used to advance the complete suffrage cause. I think the council of the Union would also do well to be prepared to contest, not only every borough, but also every county in which a vacancy may occur. I believe the Nottingham, Southampton, and Ipswich contests did more to inspire our friends with courage, and our opponents with fear, than any other steps that the council have hitherto taken. I believe the electors of every county would, if appealed to, cheerfully subscribe the funds absolutely necessary for the contest—that is, to pay for the printing and the polling booths. I regret exceedingly that the Ashburton and Warwickshire elections have been suffered to pass without an effort; and I hope the council will not let Tavistock slip in the same way. As to the *Patriot* newspaper, and those of the dissenting ministry who encourage its attacks upon the suffrage movement, they are not worth notice. If the dissenters of London choose to be the slaves of whiggery and priestcraft, those of the provinces will not follow their despicable example. Let me entreat that ornament of his race, Joseph Sturge, to press forward, undaunted by the combined opposition of false friends and open foes. In conclusion, I beg you to accept of my warmest thanks for your honest and straight-forward advocacy of your country's cause.

I remain, your sincere admirer,  
Brentford, March 11, 1843. J. F. BONTOMS.



## Imperial Parliament.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

## PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

American treaty, against ratification of tenth article of, 4.  
 Bankruptcy act, for amendment of, 1.  
 Church extension, for, 5.  
 Church rates, against abolition of, 1.  
 Corn laws, for repeal of, 142.  
 Dogs bill, for, 2.  
 Ecclesiastical Courts bill, against, 12.  
 Emigration from Africa, against government scheme of, 1.  
 Factories bill, against, 81.  
 Health of Towns bill, in favour of, 5.  
 ———— against, 1.  
 Landlord and tenant (Ireland), for repeal of law of, 7.  
 Lord's day, for better observance of, 1.  
 Magistracy in manufacturing districts, complaining of conduct of, 13.  
 Maynooth college, against further grant to, 2.  
 Medical Charities (Ireland) bill, for, 6.  
 Mines and Collieries act, against repeal of, 1.  
 Poor Relief (Ireland) act, for amendment of, 9.  
 Property Tax act, for repeal of, 2.  
 Roman Catholic Relief act, for repeal of, 1.  
 St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, against the union of, 14.  
 Turnpike Roads bill, against, 1.

## PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

## BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Slave Trade Abolition (Bolivia) bill.
2. ———— (Uruguay) bill.
3. ———— Suppression (Texas) bill.

## BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Factories bill.
2. Slave Trade Abolition (Bolivia) bill.
3. ———— (Uruguay) bill.
4. ———— Suppression (Texas) bill.

## CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Indemnity bill.
2. Turnpike Roads (Ireland) bill.
3. Slave Trade Abolition (Bolivia) bill.
4. ———— (Uruguay) bill.
5. ———— Suppression (Texas) bill.
6. Supply.—£110,000, civil contingencies; £105,636, public buildings and royal palaces; £9590, houses of parliament; £140,000, new houses of parliament, works, &c.; £12,000, Trafalgar square; £4169 10s., Holyhead harbour and road; £25,376 8s. 9d., public works, Ireland; £10,000, Kingstown harbour; £67,350, salaries and expenses of the two houses of parliament, and allowances to retired officers of the two houses; £54,700, treasury; £18,800, home department; £78,973, foreign department; £29,857, colonial department; £32,800, board of trade; £2000, salary of the lord privy seal; £35,493, office of the paymaster-general; £16,413, comptroller of the exchequer, paymaster of exchequer bills, and paymaster of civil services; £2550, state paper office; £3200, salaries and expenses of the ecclesiastical commissioners.

## BILLS READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

1. Mutiny bill.
2. Marine Mutiny bill.
3. Coast of Africa, &c., bill.
4. Indemnity bill.
5. Turnpike Roads (Ireland) bill.

## MOTIONS.

Treaty of Washington.—"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, copies or extracts of all communications between her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Lord Ashburton, with reference to the treaty signed at Washington the 9th day of August, 1842, and to the negotiations which led to that treaty."—(Viscount Palmerston.) Debate adjourned, and resumed on Wednesday, when, forty members not being present, the House was counted out.

Poor relief (Ireland).—"That a select committee be appointed, to inquire into the manner in which the act for the relief of the poor in Ireland (1 and 2 Vic. c. 56) has been carried into operation; and also as to the results of that measure upon the condition of the poor, and of society at large, in Ireland, with power to report their opinion to the House, in reference to any modifications of the Poor law which may appear to them desirable."—(Mr William S. O'Brien.) The House divided; ayes 23, noes 108.

## DEBATES.

Wednesday, March 22nd.

## DOGS BILL.

Mr BARCLAY, on the motion for the report being brought up on this bill, moved that it should be reported on that day six months.

Lord A. LENNOX stated cases of great cruelty to dogs used for drawing carts. The formation of dogs' feet unfitted them for draught work; and the excessive labour imposed upon them brought on fever, tending to hydrophobia.

Mr HUME referred to evidence disproving this tendency to hydrophobia. Any case of ill usage might be punished under the act against cruelty to animals. Occasional cruelties to dogs were no reason for discontinuing the employment of those creatures. You might discontinue the employment of horses on the same ground. Why did not gentlemen bring in a bill to prevent dogs from being overworked for sporting purposes? If an office was attacked, there was always a cry of "vested interest!" but nobody seemed to think of the interest of the poor, invested in their dogs and carts.

Sir R. INGLIS supported the bill.

After a few words from Sir G. STAUNTON, the House divided, rejecting Mr Barclay's motion by 100 to 54, and the bill was reported. On the question that it should be read a third time this day, Mr Hume took another division, but was defeated.

## ASHBURTON TREATY.

Sir C. NAPIER resumed the adjourned debate. He complimented Mr Macaulay on his speech on the previous evening, and contended that Lord Ashburton had permitted himself to be outwitted by the smooth dealings of Mr Webster. The fact was, he believed, that Sir R. Peel, harassed with the wars in China and Afghanistan, had determined to avoid a war in America at all events, and had, therefore, selected Lord Ashburton as a man sure to settle the question pacifically.

Mr D'ISRAELI bestowed high praise upon the able speech of Lord Palmerston—a speech which would have deserved to rank as one of the most considerable ever delivered in parliament, had not the speaker of it been himself, for so many years, a principal actor in the diplomacy he discussed. But all the diplomatic efforts of the noble lord had been ineffectual to obtain anything like so advantageous an arrangement as that which his speech condemned Lord Ashburton for having effected. If 100,000 acres had been ceded, 1,000,000 had been secured. If

America had gained from England facilities in the navigation of the St John's, England had gained from America facilities for the navigation of the St Lawrence. All the concessions made were now blamed, because the noble lord chose to argue on the assumption that England had a clear right to everything; but that was an assumption which begged the whole question. He must doubt this right. He had seen the map with the strong red line at the Foreign office in Paris, which was a map by D'Anville, on a very small scale, of all North America, in eighteen inches square. But there was another map in England, by Mitchell, of larger dimensions, which marked the line just such as it was claimed by America. Now, it appeared from a private, but now printed, letter of Dr Franklin to Mr Livingston, that the latter, and not the red line map, was that used in the negotiation respecting the boundary. And there were extant the preliminaries to the treaty of 1783, with manuscript notes by Dr Franklin, also distinctly referring to Mitchell's as the map which was used. Mr D'Israeli expressed his extreme surprise at Lord Palmerston's courage in referring to the question respecting the right of visitation; since it was the noble lord's own conduct towards France which had occasioned all Lord Ashburton's difficulties on that head. The noble lord was wont to boast, that during his ten years of administration he had preserved uninterrupted peace. This was not a little wonderful, when it was remembered that he had been on the verge of declaring war against France, of receiving a declaration of war from Russia, and of entering upon hostilities with America; but then, if he had been foiled in his attempt at a contest with any of those three great powers, he had made himself amends by a warfare with three minor ones.

Mr HAWES rose, but had uttered only a few sentences, when a motion was made to count the House; and as there were not forty members present, an adjournment immediately took place.

Thursday, March 23.

## NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

Mr HOGG brought up the report of the Nottingham election committee, declaring the last election void, and that Mr Walter, through his agents, had been guilty of bribery, though it was not proved that he had been cognisant of it. The minutes of evidence were ordered to be printed.

Mr HUME then moved that the writ should be issued forthwith.

Lord LINCOLN moved to postpone it for a week.

Mr HOGG and Sir C. LEMON, as members who had served on the committee, expressed their opinion that the bribery now proved had not been on a sufficiently large scale to justify any strong measure against the borough.

A short discussion then ensued.

Lord J. RUSSELL, as the production of the evidence had just been ordered, thought that until there should have been an opportunity of reading it the writ ought to be suspended, especially considering what had been proved last year about bribery in Nottingham.

Sir R. PEEL was of opinion, that as there were no fewer than twenty-seven clear cases of bribery, time ought to be given for reading the evidence respecting them.

Mr HOGG observed, that Nottingham had now 60,000 inhabitants, and between 5,000 and 6,000 voters, and as the bribery and treating, though not confined to the twenty-seven reported cases, had not extended so far as to affect any very large proportion of the population, he must vote for the issuing of the writ.

After several other members had expressed their sentiments, the House divided—

For the postponement ..... 91

For the immediate issue ..... 69

Majority for the postponement ..... 25

## THE ROYAL PALACES.

Mr WILLIAMS moved for an account of the expenditure, from 1811 to 1842, on royal palaces and parks, and on salaries to rangers. Into some of these palaces he believed that her Majesty had never even entered; and looking at the great number of poor who were living, with scanty food and raiment, in damp cellars, he did think that no public money ought to be laid out except on what was really required for the Sovereign's accommodation. He believed that many of these palaces were kept up for the sake of allotting apartments to persons possessing political interest.

Lord LINCOLN's only objection to such a return was the great labour and expense which it would occasion. If he sought only to know any particular facts, that information should be given to him whenever he would apply for it at the office of woods and forests. He would suggest that the hon. member should limit the return to the last ten years. It was true that some of the palaces were not kept up for the use of the Sovereign, for they were in fact kept up chiefly for the benefit and amusement of the public, as in the instance of Hampton court. As to the supposed object of favouring individuals who have political interest, Mr Williams was greatly mistaken. No one had been recommended to her Majesty by the present government on that score.

Mr HUME denied that the return asked for would be attended with the difficulty supposed by the noble lord. More palaces were kept up than were at all necessary. The old rule was a good one, which was, that every repair or alteration in any of the royal apartments occupied by way of favour should be at the expense of the occupier asking for it; and that every such occupier should, on quitting, make good whatever he had caused to be altered. He would advise Mr Williams to accept the return as offered by Lord Lincoln.

Sir R. PEEL said, that Lord Lincoln's offer showed the total absence of desire on the part of government to conceal anything. Let it not be supposed that all these palaces and parks were kept up for the Sovereign alone; a great part of this expense was incurred solely for the health and recreation of the public. It was better, for the preservation of the palaces themselves, that they should be inhabited, than deserted; and few gentlemen, he presumed, would like to see Hampton court palace, the noble pile of Cardinal Wolsey, sold by Mr George Robins. He referred to the great expenses incurred in the late christening, in the visit of the King of Prussia, and in the royal progress to Scotland, all of which had been defrayed from the Queen's privy purse, without any application for aid from the public, except in respect of a small sum laid out on Windsor castle when the Prince of Wales was christened; and reminded the House that the Queen had submitted her own personal revenue to the operations of the income tax, in consideration of the sufferings of her people.

After a few words from Mr CURTEIS, and Mr F. BARING, Mr WILLIAMS said his object had been to see what was the expenditure of George IV. on these works and buildings. He admitted the utility of the parks to the people of the metropolis; but contended that they, and not his constituents at Coventry, ought to pay for that accommodation. He would accept the return as offered by Lord Lincoln, but had no time to visit the public offices for the purpose of inquiring into particular facts.

The returns were then ordered.

## IRISH POOR LAW.

Mr SMITH O'BRIEN moved for a select committee to inquire into the execution and operation of the poor law in Ireland. He complained of the conduct of the commissioners. For instance, where the guardians of an union had ordered a meat dinner for the paupers on Christmas day, the commissioners had rebuked them, alleging the necessity of protecting the rate payers. There might have been exaggerations; but all he now asked was the means of ascertaining whether the allegations made were exaggerations or not. He earnestly advocated the principle of out-door relief. When he had been speaking for a great length of time, it was observed that 40 members were not present. The gallery was cleared, but before the House could be counted three or four members came in and made up the complement. Mr O'Brien then, after an indignant apostrophe to those who had attempted to arrest his progress, resumed his course of argument, the bearing of which, from the indistinctness of his delivery, it was difficult to collect. He did not mean, by moving for a committee, to exonerate the government from their proper responsibility of bringing in a bill upon this subject; for the condition of the Irish poor was most deplorable.

Lord ELIOT, after complimenting the moderation and ability of Mr O'Brien, assured him that the present ministers had no predilection for the Irish poor law. Several of them had indeed voted for it as introduced by the late government, but not without much of doubt with respect to its sufficiency. For his own part, he had felt so much difficulty on the subject of it, that he had abstained from voting upon it at all. He admitted that it had produced much dissatisfaction in Ireland, though there were many instances in which it appeared to have worked well; but the government had now a measure in preparation, which he thought the House would do well to wait for before they took the course of appointing a committee; and he would not forestall the discussion to which that measure would properly give rise. The appointment of the proposed committee would have, he was convinced, a very injurious effect, by generating an opinion in Ireland that parliament contemplated a departure from the main principle of the poor law, which was a principle indispensably necessary for saving the people of that kingdom from absolute destitution.

Sir DENHAM NORREYS contended that the workhouse system was deteriorating the character of the Irish peasantry, by encouraging habits of indolence and recklessness. The man accustomed to the "luxuries" of the workhouse would not willingly return to a damp hovel and miserable fare.

Mr SHAW was of opinion that the Irish poor law had not yet received a fair trial. The expense of erecting workhouses had been encountered; and if out-door relief were permitted in a country like Ireland, with large population bordering on extreme poverty, it would amount to a confiscation of the landed property of the country.

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD assigned several reasons why the poor law was unpopular in Ireland.

Several Irish members then briefly addressed the House, chiefly in favour of the committee, and pointing out the evils to which Ireland was at present subject under the existing poor law.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM reminded the House that both Lord Eliot and himself had some time since intimated that it was the intention of government to bring forward, on this subject, a bill, which he would introduce before Easter, that it might be maturely considered during the vacation. That bill, he had now fairly to state, would preserve both the principle of the commission and that of the workhouses. If any one thing could have made him more adverse than another to the proposal of a committee, it would have been the mover's recommendation of out-door relief in Ireland. It was a most dangerous principle for that country; and at all events, if it must be brought under consideration, that consideration should be given to it, not in a committee, but in the House. He vindicated Mr Nicholls, the commissioner, and declared his resolution to resist a motion which would have no effect but to disturb the popular mind in Ireland.

Mr ROSS was opposed to out-door relief; and



having heard the announcement that ministers were about to propose a measure of their own, he would lay aside his intention of voting for the committee.

After a few words of reply from Mr O'BRIEN, the House divided—

Against the committee .....	108
For it .....	23

Majority against it .....	85
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Friday, March 24.

#### FACTORIES BILL.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM moved the second reading of this bill, and a sharp preliminary discussion took place; various members urging the importance of allowing full time for careful and mature consideration both of its principles and details. Sir J. Graham finally consented that, if the second reading were now taken, he would postpone the consideration of the education clauses until after Easter. The labour clauses he proposed should be considered in committee on an early day.

Mr HUME asked whether it was to be distinctly understood that members, in assenting to the second reading, did not preclude themselves from canvassing in committee the principle of the rating, and of the superintendence by the clergy?

Sir JAMES GRAHAM answered, that the principle of the bill was the education of the factory children by the aid of the state, and that the mode of effecting that object, though a matter of vast importance, was still but a question of detail which would remain fully open to discussion.

Mr HUME wished to know, likewise, whether ministers intended to carry the work of education further by any subsequent measure?

Sir JAMES GRAHAM referred to the announcement he had made on introducing the bill, that government intended to extend the principle, by subsequent measures, to children engaged in lace works and print works, and to children in the workhouses of large towns.

Mr EWART, on the understanding that the principle of the clauses proposed to be postponed would remain open to discussion, would be content to abstain from the opposition which he had intended to offer in the present stage.

Lord J. RUSSELL thought it would be convenient that whatever objections were intended to be directed against the principle of the bill should be stated now.

Mr HINDLEY had the strongest objection to the clauses which it was now proposed to postpone; and pressed Sir James Graham to make them the subject of a separate bill.

Thirty of the 115 clauses which it contained involved principles to which he could not give his assent; and, above all, he thought that the interests of dissenters were not sufficiently considered. In the neighbourhood in which he lived the dissenters formed a most important portion of society; and the condition of their education was not so miserable as had been described, for their Sunday schools and scholars were more than double the number of those of the church.

On the motion for the second reading being put, Mr EWART proceeded to state his objections to the bill. The first of them was, that the measure excited a feeling of displeasure throughout the whole body of the dissenters, including even the Wesleyans, who generally leaned to the church of England, and thus introduced the brand of theological discord. Religion was as different from theology as justice from law. There was only one sound principle of dealing with this subject—that the general education should be merely secular, and that the religious necessities of the pupils of each denomination should be supplied by teachers of their own creed. He proceeded to condemn the exclusive character of the body of trustees.

He here particularly referred to that part which related to the trustee and the master, as well as to the manner in which it was proposed that the children should be admitted. In the first place, he objected to a clerical trustee, as well as to the power proposed to be vested in him by the bill. That trustee was to be assisted by the two churchwardens, who, it was to be presumed, were to be members of the established church, and the board was to be appointed by four justices of the petty sessions. Now here were seven persons, amongst whom there would not be one dissenter [hear, hear]. Was that, he would ask, fair dealing towards the great mass of the dissenters, who had done so much for the advancement of education?

One of the petitions laid on the table complained that it was impossible for a dissenter, under this bill, to be a teacher. The master was to teach the scriptures. Now, if he read the Bible to his pupils without comment, he left his work imperfect; if, with comment, he offended those who belonged to a different creed from his own. Did the bill deal fairly with dissenters in the manufacturing districts, who comprised by far the larger portion of the population?

The report of Mr Horner showed the vast preponderance of the numbers of dissenters over those of members of the established church in those districts. He said, that upon an inquiry which he had instituted, it appeared that out of 63 factories, the masters of 36 were members of the established church, and of those, the remaining 27 were dissenters of different denominations. By the 36 masters, 6,576 workmen were employed; by the 27 dissenters, no fewer than 14,000 persons were employed. These were circumstances which showed how vast would be the number of dissenters amongst the persons to be educated under the new system, as compared with the members of the church of England.

The same feature was observable in the means of education at present available among our manufacturing population. He would mention only three places.

In Ashton, Staleybridge, and Dukinfield, Mr Horner's report says—that the Sunday schools of the established church were five only in number; of the scholars there were only 3,100. The dissenters had 23 Sunday schools, and there were 7,025 scholars. The Roman Catholics had three schools, with 850 pupils. This was the calculation down to the month of January last. At Oldham the church Sunday schools were three in number, the scholars 1,100; the dissenters' schools were 19 in number, the scholars 5,400.

Only two systems of education had proved successful—one was the central system, which had been adopted in France and Prussia, and the other was the voluntary. That system had been adopted in America, and was only so far central that reports were made to the various senates of the different states. This is a system which he should like to see adopted

here. He should like to see the voluntary system carried out and reports laid before the legislature, that the country might be informed of the progress which was made.

The Earl of ARUNDEL, though a Roman Catholic, did not see how a nation could adopt so large a measure, and not place her chief reliance for its execution on her own establishment. But he pointed out objections to some of the clauses affecting the Roman Catholics.

Mr GALLY KNIGHT declared his dissent from Mr Ewart's theory, which cut the Gordian knot by omitting religion altogether from the code of national instruction. Education, he was persuaded, must, in order to be useful, be based upon religion. He hoped that ere long it would be extended to the rural population. The voluntary system would not suffice for the country districts. It worked some good; but taken alone, it was but a broken reed.

Mr HAWES referred to the opposition offered by the Tories to the erection of the board of Privy Council; and contended, on that precedent, that he was not to be charged with general hostility to national education, in respect of any resistance which he might offer to the particular bill before the House. A bill resembling the present had been introduced in 1820, on the recommendation of a committee which had sat in 1819; and that bill had been rejected. The present was a bill which sacrificed the dissenters and the Roman Catholics, and gave to the church an exclusive command over a general fund.

He had received letter after letter, distinctly stating, on the part of important religious bodies, that if the poor rate was to be applied to an exclusive system of education, a war upon that rate would be the result—a war, too, more extensive than that which was now waged against the church. The bill of the right hon. baronet would, therefore, introduce this great source of religious discord.

By one of the clauses of this bill all the children belonging to the church were required to attend school on Sundays, the effect of which would be to render useless all the Sunday schools now attended by those children. He had heard that some particular favour was to be shown to the Wesleyans; and if that should be true, the affront to all other dissenters would be so much the grosser. He claimed for the Roman Catholics and for the dissenters equality with the establishment; and unless this were afforded, the bill would be only a fresh source of discord.

Sir J. GRAHAM feared that what had passed this evening would weaken the chance of a cordial settlement. Government had been charged with sacrificing the dissenters and the Roman Catholics. Against that charge he would cite the liberal and candid testimony of the Earl of Arundel. With respect to the questions asked respecting the sense in which the phrase "teaching the scriptures" was used, he would refer to the evidence given by Mr Dunn, the secretary to the British and Foreign Society, with whom he was disposed to concur in his interpretation, and who had shown that the scriptures might be, and were, taught without any view or tendency to the making of proselytes. As to the Sundays, he wished it to be clearly understood that the bill was intended to enforce the attendance at church only of the children belonging to the establishment, not that of the children belonging to dissenters. The dissenters deserved credit for their exertions in this district, but it must be remembered that the church of England *not having the means* to reach the increase of the population, was unable to remove the dangers of the spread of infidelity. The government, in bringing forward this bill, had been well aware that it had dangers to encounter on the left as well as on the right; and while full credit was due to the dissenters for their efforts in the cause of education, it was obvious that without the cordial aid of the church no extensive measure of education could be effected.

He was quite satisfied that without the aid and cordial co-operation of the church, as established by law, no large measure of education could be effective, and that no government would be justified in carrying such a measure into execution without that aid and that co-operation. The object the government had in view was to supply a measure of education extensive in its operation, consonant with the principles of the established church, and at the same time go to the utmost extent consistent with the honest principles of toleration.

The measure could no longer be delayed with safety; the disturbances of last autumn had been chiefly brought about by young persons.

He (Sir J. Graham) spoke in the presence of those who could correct him if he was wrong, but he had been told, upon authority which could not be questioned, that in the midst of those turbulent masses which in the last autumn had disturbed the public peace and threatened destruction to both life and property to so serious an extent, the youth of the parties generally engaged in the outbreaks was a remarkable fact. He was told, and he was open to correction if he was wrong, that the ages of the parties composing these turbulent masses ranged from eighteen to twenty-two years. This fact clearly showed that the danger to be apprehended rested with the rising generation.

It was necessary to bear in mind the circumstances of existing society, and to abstain from pushing abstract theories of religious equality to extremes. He exhorted the House to conduct the debates on this subject with temper and calmness, and trusted that if that course were preserved, this measure might be made to effect the most extensive and important benefits.

Sir GEORGE GREY was satisfied that the government had brought forward the bill in an honest spirit towards all classes, but that they had failed in giving due effect to their intention by the details of this measure. One effect, for instance, of the bill in its present shape, would be to exclude schoolmasters, who were not members of the established church; and the 58th clause, with respect to the selection of books, was also susceptible of improvement, such as giving a power to the committee of the privy council on education. He was desirous of seeing all objections removed, and the bill rendered universally acceptable.

Sir R. INGLIS claimed for the church the maintenance of her office as the supreme instructress of the people. He feared that this bill did not place her in

in the pre-eminent position she was entitled to. Her functions were transferred to a committee of privy council, of which it was possible that not one single member might be in communion with the established church. Sir James Graham, if he was prepared to make the concessions required on the other side, could not expect the support of churchmen, who were well aware of the very considerable sacrifices they made in supporting the bill even as at present framed. He regretted the great extent of power which this bill bestowed upon the committee of privy council. The argument of numbers was one which he did not regard in deliberating upon a political claim, but it was one which here made against the parties employing it.

In the fourth return of the registrar-general of births, deaths, and marriages, they might read what was the number of church marriages celebrated throughout England. The number was last year, 114,439, whilst the number of non-church marriages celebrated during the same period, was but 8,248. Now, he defied the House to resist the conclusion to be drawn from this return. Either the dissenters had exaggerated the grievance of the marriage laws of England, or they had exaggerated their own numbers—either their consciences were not so much oppressed as they had represented them to be by the marriage laws, or they had greatly overstated the numbers of those who refused to conform to the church of England.

And he wished Mr Hume, the great critic of pounds, shillings, and pence, to recollect that the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, was costing the country £90,000 a-year. Such an outlay, made for this toy of the dissenters, ought to be borne in mind when next a question was raised about some comparatively small demand in favour of the church. He hoped he should hear no more of the modern assertion that the church of England is a sect—it was an essential part of the constitution of England. He significantly closed—

If he believed that the bill would weaken that church, he for one would not omit to divide the House against it. It was because on the whole he believed that the bill was less calculated to injure the church than, if well worked, it was calculated to benefit the church; that, if kept as it now stood, he was not prepared to take the sense of the House against it. He should support the bill under the firm conviction, that opposed as it was by the dissenters on one hand, and opposed, as it would be, by the members of the church on the other, his right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department would not be persuaded to make any material alteration in its provisions.

Mr HUME said that the church was no more than the dominant sect, and Sir R. Inglis himself was a sectarian. The church was always looking after those pounds, shillings, and pence, of which Sir R. Inglis spoke. The hon. baronet had called her the supreme instructress of the nation; but he begged the House to look at the ignorant state of the people under her instruction. But for the dissenters, where would this supreme instructress have left the nation? He quoted returns from inspectors of prisons to show how large a proportion of the poor could not even read or write.

It was enough to say, that from an abstract of ten reports it appeared, that out of 82,000 individuals, 22,548 of whom were committed for trial at assizes and sessions, 54,570 were sent to prison on summary convictions, and the House would scarcely believe it, that only 4,920 were able to read and write. In the fifth report of the inspectors of prisons it was stated, that out of 71,000 adults, 4,600 could only read and write, being one in 17; but of 10,256 juvenile offenders only 232 could read and write, being but one in 45. Was the church then the national instructress? If so, she had failed in her duty.

An attempt was made to distinguish the case of England from that of Ireland, because in Ireland the majority were not of the established religion; but he believed that if to the dissenters in England were added those who held no creed at all, the majority in England also would be found unconnected with the establishment. Next he would ask what was to become of the agricultural population? Were not they entitled to education? No voluntary system would or ought to suffice.

He thought that the government ought to propound a plan which should not embrace one or two classes merely, but the whole nation. The government ought to take the subject of education in its hands, as well as the physical condition of the people. No voluntary system would do [hear, hear]. No voluntary system ought to do [hear, hear]. The moral education of the people was the first duty of the government; and therefore they ought to have a fixed secular system of education.

He enlarged upon the evils of ignorance as a fruitful cause both of crime and of expense to the public; and recommended it to Sir James Graham to make the education clauses the subject of a separate bill.

After a few words from Mr ACLAND, Mr F. BARING, and Mr HARDY, Mr MILNER GIBSON said he had so many objections to the bill, that he could almost reconcile it to himself to oppose the second reading. The provisions of the bill were confined to cotton and silk mills, and it would therefore operate as a displacement of labour, by driving children to pin-making, nail-making, &c. This was no imaginary difficulty—

The thing had actually occurred in the case of the school clauses of the act now in force, and the tendency of the new measure would be to effect a still further displacement of infant labour. On this point the report of Mr Hickson was very strong; that gentleman stated, that the effect of the existing law was, to remove as many as 40,000 children from factory labour. It was to be feared, that the effect of the present measure would be to drive many children from the cotton mills to the collieries, or to worse employment.

The vice and immorality complained of did not exist among those regularly employed in cotton factories, in which the strict discipline was favourable to good habits, but amongst the unsettled and migratory population, whom the bill would not reach. The compulsory attendance at church on Sundays would be viewed as a very grievous oppression by the working classes of Lancashire, where it would be felt as an infringement of liberty to be deprived of the option of having their children's company. Another objection was the deprivation of the constitutional right of control over the expenditure of the funds raised for education.

Mr MANNERS SUTTON thought that the operation of the present measure would be to attract young persons to factory employment, instead of driving them from it.

Mr COWPER was satisfied that, looking to the state of the population, and the conflicting claims of rival



parties, the present bill was the most practical measure that could be proposed.

Lord ASHLEY said, he had been asked why his application to parliament had been made only for the manufacturing, and not for the agricultural districts. He would answer, that in the agricultural districts the duty devolved on the landlord of seeing that all who lived under him were brought up in loyalty to the king and in the fear of God; it was only among the great masses congregated in the towns that parliament could properly be called on for the means of education. He showed the inadequacy of the education provided by the old law, and enlarged upon the advantages which the present bill was likely to effect. This was no time to inquire on whom the responsibility of past neglect ought to rest; let all parties rather combine to cure the evil now. What figure would England make among the nations of the world, if, after the avowal and exposure of so much filth on the surface of her society, she were now to shrink from cleansing it away!

Mr CORDEN told the House they must not wonder if the dissenters of Lancashire objected to have a master instructing exclusively the children of the establishment, when those children in that county were an actual minority. Much was said about the ignorance of the people in Manchester; but that ignorance was by no means so gross as within the very parish of St John's, where the House was at that moment sitting, in the immediate neighbourhood of the great abbey. He read statistical returns establishing the condition of moral degradation in Westminster and Sussex, as compared with the far superior condition of Manchester, where the state had no clergy, and where the whole work of charity rested with the dissenting ministers. It was idle to talk of this little measure as one of national education. What was now proposed was a mere trifle—a speck in the ocean. Sir R. Inglis claimed for the church the title of supreme instructress of the people; but then, why had not that church actually instructed them? And, not having instructed them hitherto, in Sussex or elsewhere, why did she come forward to interfere with their instruction now? The dissenters would oppose these clauses: he would do what he could in committee against their enactment; but he would support the second reading of the bill, for it gave a chance for some little education, and it made some small advance on the side of liberality, by giving, for the first time, a public grant without the annexed condition of a church of England catechism.

Lord J. RUSSELL did not regret the discussion which had taken place, and which he hoped would induce the country to look at this bill, hitherto somewhat misunderstood, in the fair temper now generally exhibited by the House.

But in considering the subject with a view to legislation, they must bear in mind, with regret, that in the manufacturing districts the majority of those making religious profession did not belong to the church—did not attend divine worship under the auspices of the church. Whatever they might feel upon the subject, they must at least admit the fact in framing any legislative measure, just as much as they must admit the fact that the church and the clergy had refused to agree to the establishment of joint schools, in which the Bible alone should be the foundation of the religious education. And you must take especial care in framing any measure that was to affect the manufacturing districts particularly, that that peculiarity was kept in view.

Some weight was due to the objection that the board of trustees, as here constituted, would represent one party exclusively.

It certainly did seem to be an omission in the constitution of these boards, that there was not to be upon them any representative of the ratepayers who would be able to watch over the manner in which the rates were expended. He should think it a very great advantage indeed if in the committee they would make some alteration to remedy this defect in the constitution of the boards of trustees; but he feared at the same time that there was no alteration that was likely to be made the measure that would not still leave the board of trustees a body that would be considered rather as belonging to the church, and representing the church, than as being a fair representative of the opinions of the different religious bodies of this country [hear, hear].

He recommended an increase in the annual grant distributable by the privy council for the purpose of educating proper persons to be masters in the factory schools.

Mr ROSS said, the measure would be acceptable to the manufacturers of Belfast.

The bill was then read a second time.

#### DOGS BILL.

Mr M. PHILIPS opposed the third reading of this bill. He believed it would ruin many individuals who were mainly dependent on dogs for purposes of draught, particularly in the lace trade. The result would be that much heavy labour would be thrown upon young children.

Mr HURT opposed the bill, as did Mr CHRISTIE and Mr MUNTZ.

Mr SIDNEY HERBERT treated it as a piece of surplus humanity, and observed that the author of the bill was at this very time out of town, trying to get hooks into the jaws of fish for the sole purpose of his own amusement.

Sir R. INGLIS supported the bill, and asserted the inaptitude of dogs for draught, except on sand or on snow.

The House divided in favour of the third reading. Additional clauses were moved, which gave rise to several divisions, but at length the bill was passed, by 66 to 43.

Monday, March 27.

The House went into a committee of supply; the civil and miscellaneous votes being the subject of consideration. The first vote was one of £110,000 for civil contingencies, which being made up of a great variety of items, some of them very small, led to a long and desultory conversation. On one item, Mr WILLIAMS contrasted the moderate expense of the United States for embassies with the amount expended by this country. It was a disgrace to the nobility of this country that none of them would do

honour to their sovereign without coming on the heavily-taxed people of this country.

Captain PEACHELL drew attention to the state of the relations between this country and France, with respect to the mutual right of fishing in the English channel, which has so long excited ill feeling. Thereupon a somewhat lively passage of arms occurred between Sir Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston as to whether the whig government, or the tory government which preceded it, were to blame for leaving this question, amongst others, unsettled. Sir R. PEEL said that this fishing question, like many others, was found by the present government in an unsettled state. Lord PALMERSTON replied that this question had been found unsettled likewise when the late government came into office; but that a great deal had been done by that government toward the settlement of it. The matter was set at rest by Sir R. PEEL assuring the House that his government was labouring to settle it, and that as soon as possible he would communicate all the requisite information on the subject.

Mr HUME commented upon some of the items of the vote, contending that they should be referred to a committee. There was a charge for christening the Prince of Wales; and, moreover, a charge for altering his arms—the arms of a child in his cradle! Why was not this defrayed from the large revenues of the duchy of Cornwall? Sir ROBERT PEEL replied that this was not an estimate, but an account of sums actually expended under a discretionary power given to the government, which they had exercised so moderately as to have spent within £15,000 of the sum allowed them. He justified the items, such as that for the expense of the christening of the Prince of Wales, for the royal visit to Scotland, and so forth; and concluded by repeating (for the third time during the present session) the disinterestedness of the Queen in submitting to pay the income tax.

Some conversation about a sum of £603, laid out for passage-money of the Bishop of Jerusalem and his suite, was originated by Captain BERNAL, who, being supported by Mr MUNTZ, moved to diminish the grant by that sum. Mr HUME observed that the cost of the bishop's passage to Jaffa had been actually greater than that of Lord Ashburton to and from the United States. Mr GOULBURN reminded him that the mission of Lord Ashburton being but temporary, there had been no exportation of his family, or of carriages, or other outfit and equipage; whereas the bishop, going upon a permanent duty, had been obliged to take a considerable establishment. A further characteristic conversation ensued, which terminated in the rejection of the amendment.

Mr ELLICE, jun., objected to the next vote of 5771. 13s. 4d. for erecting the bishoprics of Barbadoes, Antigua, and Guiana, and of Gibraltar and Tasmania. Lord STANLEY explained that this charge had been defrayed from a sum due to the retired Bishop of Barbadoes for arrears of salary, which he had most liberally waived for the purpose of relieving his successors, the new Bishops of Barbadoes, Antigua, and Guiana, from the expense of this outfit, those three bishops being to receive, among them all, no more than the salary heretofore assigned to the Bishop of Barbadoes alone. This explanation appeared to satisfy the House; the objection was withdrawn, and the vote for civil contingencies was taken at the full amount proposed by government.

Sir C. CLERK then proceeded to move the miscellaneous estimates.

A desultory conversation took place on various items as they came under review. Objections were made to the length of time during which the National gallery was closed, to the exclusion of the public from Richmond park, Primrose hill, and to the exclusion of persons carrying parcels, and in their working dresses.

Mr HUME objected to the situation and construction of the new houses of Parliament; and the Earl of LINCOLN expected that the Lords would be able to get into their new chamber in about two years.

On the vote of 67,350*l.* for the salaries and expenses of the two branches of the legislature, Mr HUME proposed to reduce the grant by 23,600*l.* (being the sum required for the House of Lords in aid of the fee fund) until information should be furnished of the amount which the fee fund produces. Mr GOULBURN resisted this annual cavil, stating the practice to be, that the House of Lords addresses the Crown for this grant. The committee divided, rejecting Mr Hume's proposed reduction.

Mr ELLICE objected to the vote for the salaries of the ecclesiastical commissioners, on the ground that all public taxes fall upon dissenters, who ought in no case to contribute to the expenses of the church. Mr GOULBURN said, that if the state deemed it useful to control the church, the state must defray the cost of exercising that control. The committee divided, affirming the grant.

The next vote proposed was for 56,508*l.* to defray the cost of the poor law commission. Capt. PEACHELL inveighed against the commission, censuring the commissioners and eulogising the Gilbert unions. Mr FERRAND, who warmly denounced the conduct of the assistant poor-law commissioners, pronounced them to be swindling and oppressive, and dared the government to thrust the new poor law down the throats of the people of the north of England. Sir C. NAPIER was afraid that Mr Ferrand was afflicted with monomania with respect to the Keightley or Bingley union. He moved that the chairman report progress, which was agreed to.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

CANADA CORN TRADE.—Mr Ewart asked on Thursday, whether, under the intended measure, foreign corn, imported from any part of the world into Canada, could on paying the three shillings duty be exported thence to this country free, like United

States corn? Mr Gladstone supposed that Mr Ewart made the common mistake of thinking that the law regards foreign produce imported into colonies and re-exported hither as colonial produce; which is not the case. But raw materials, brought into the colonies, manufactured there and then imported into this country, were considered as articles of colonial produce, inasmuch as all manufactured articles were considered as the produce of the countries where they were manufactured. Mr Ewart wished to know whether flour was considered as a manufactured article? Mr Gladstone said that it was. In reply to Lord John Russell, Mr Gladstone said that it was the intention of government to introduce a bill on the subject after Easter.

On Friday Mr Roebuck brought in the "Aerial Transit Company bill," for establishing a rapid mode of traveling through the air! It was read a first time, amidst much laughter, and ordered to be read a second time.

ASHBURTON TREATY.—On Thursday, on the assurance from Lord Palmerston that he did not intend again to bring forward the question of the late treaty, Mr Hume, amid vehement cheering from the ministerial benches, gave notice that he should, on the 31st inst, move that the thanks of the House be given to the ministers who advised, and to Lord Ashburton who had negotiated and concluded that treaty.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the House of Lords on Friday night, Lord BROUGHAM gave notice that he would, after Easter, introduce a bill for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade; and Lord CAMPBELL laid upon the table a bill for facilitating the transmission of real property. No other business of interest occupied the House.

Monday, March 27th.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE asked information of Lord Aberdeen respecting the occupation by the French government of the island of Tahiti. He did not view this acquisition of territory on the part of France with any unnecessary jealousy, but wished that the interests of a number of British subjects who had taken up their residence in the islands of the Pacific, and to whom the natives were indebted for considerable advancement in the arts of civilisation, might be protected.

Lord ABERDEEN was also of opinion that no injury to the commercial or political interests of this country was to be feared from the establishment of the French in these islands. With respect to the missionaries, he had already caused representations to be made at Paris, and they had been met by the most satisfactory assurance of protection and encouragement. An article to that effect had, indeed, been appended to the convention which had been entered into, and he confidently relied upon the good feeling of the King of the French and of M. Guizot for its due execution.

On Thursday afternoon the Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Princess Royal, left Claremont in a carriage and four for Buckingham palace.

The ceremony of consecrating the new Chapel royal, Buckingham palace, took place on Saturday, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating. A large number of the nobility, including the principal officers of state were present at the ceremony. On her Majesty's arrival, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by his chaplain, the Rev. B. Harrison, proceeded to the communion table, where her Majesty's warrant was presented, commanding him to consecrate the chapel. His Grace received the warrant, and directed the registrar, F. H. Dyke, Esq., to read it, and the same having been read, his Grace declared that he was ready to consecrate the chapel, and proceeded with the service appointed for the occasion. The proceedings, in full, are given only in the *Morning Herald* of Monday, the other daily papers furnishing as little as possible of description, doubtless, under the impression that the less said about the mummery the better. After the ceremony, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Norwich, and the clergy, and also the ladies and gentlemen of the household present at the consecration, partook of a *dejeuner* at the palace.

We understand that his Majesty the King of Hanover is expected to arrive on a visit to this country about the middle of May, orders having been received to prepare his apartments in the Ambassador's court for his reception by that period. The King is expected to remain six weeks in town. The government of the kingdom during his Majesty's absence will be delegated to the Council of State, of which Major-general Prince Bernard of Solms Braunfels is president.—*Sun.*

THE NEW COMET.—Sir J. HERSCHEL obtained a view of the head of the comet on Friday evening, near one of the stars of (rho) Eridani. Its appearance, he states, was that of a star of about the fifth magnitude, but dim, and having no sharp nucleus. Sir James South states that the tail was visible at Wimbledon park on Saturday evening, about eight o'clock. The brightest part of it was under the stars "Rigel" and "Kappa" of Orion. Its actual situation among the fixed stars he could not determine from the presence of zodiacal or other light. The night glass did not show "the smallest vestige of nucleus." The nucleus of the new comet is very small and faint, and the tail, though 43 degrees in length, is so narrow as to be only one degree in breadth at its extremity. The real length of the tail is estimated at 20,000,000 leagues (?). As the comet advances slowly towards the centre of the heavens, it will be more visible, though the increasing length of daylight is unfavourable to observation.



**THE COURT.**—The following notice is published in the *Gazette*:—"Lord Chamberlain's Office, March 21.—Notice is hereby given, that his Royal Highness Prince Albert will, by desire of her Majesty, hold levees, at St James's palace, on behalf of her Majesty, on Wednesday, the 29th inst, and on Wednesday the 26th of April next, both days at two o'clock. It is her Majesty's pleasure, that presentations to his Royal Highness at these levees shall be considered equivalent to presentations to the Queen. Addresses to the Queen may either be forwarded to her Majesty through the Secretary of State for the Home Department, or may be reserved until her Majesty shall hold a levee."

His royal highness Prince Albert's first levee, this morning, on behalf of her Majesty, was expected to be very fully attended, from the number of military and naval promotions since last year.

**REPRESENTATION OF SALISBURY.**—It is rumoured that Mr Wyndham, M.P. for Salisbury, has at length yielded to the strongly expressed wishes of his constituents, and intends immediately to accept the Chiltern hundreds, the state of his health rendering it improbable that he would, for some considerable time, be able to take his seat in parliament.

It appears also, that on Monday night a new writ was ordered for the city of Durham, in the room of Captain R. Fitzroy, the newly-appointed governor of New Zealand.

Lord Brougham gave a grand dinner on Sunday to a distinguished circle, including Sir Robert Peel, Duke of Wellington, Lord Ashburton, the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Jersey, Earl of Essex, Sir W. Follett, Hon. Sydney Herbert, Colonel North, Mr Brougham, Commissioner Phillips, &c.

**PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS.**—A good specimen of the manner in which the people's business is proceeded with, is furnished by the following extract from the *Sun* of Thursday evening:—"The House resolved itself into committee on the Birkenhead Improvement bill, as we understood, but from the noise and confusion it was impossible to hear accurately what was said. The Speaker having left the chair, and the House being in committee, several clauses were proposed, and on the question being put that one of the clauses be read a second time, Mr Hume rose and said—Please to state, sir, what we are doing [a laugh]. Mr Greene, the chairman, again put the clause. Mr Hume: I want to know, sir, what bill we are on [roars of laughter]. Mr Greene again put the clause, but as far as we could gather, the question of the hon. member for Montrose was not answered. The clauses were agreed to, and the report brought up and received."

**REGISTRATION OF VOTERS BILL.**—As the bill, which has during the last week been under discussion in the house of Commons, proposes to make several alterations of the present law, it is desirable that the public should be made aware of its provisions. The following are a few of the most essential:—

In the first place, the bill proposes to require clerks of the peace in counties, and town clerks (where there are no town clerks, or persons exercising the duties of that office, then the returning officers) of boroughs, to issue, on or before the 10th of June in each year, precepts to the overseers of the different townships within their counties or boroughs, requiring them to give the requisite notices, and to make out the lists of voters in conformity with the provisions of the bill, which differ very slightly from those of the Reform act; the only variances which have struck us, on a perusal, being a direction that the names of new claimants in counties shall be printed separately from the names of parties previously on the register; that the payment of one shilling registration fee, on making a claim, is to be abolished, (as is also the subsequent payment of one shilling by parties placed on the register of a borough); and that county voters changing their residences are required to make fresh claims; a point which was previously considered doubtful.

With respect to notices of objection, the principal change is, that of making service through the post office sufficient in the case of county voters.

The revision of the lists is to be executed by barristers to be appointed by the judges, who, except in particular cases, are not to exceed a limited number for each circuit (fifteen being allowed for the northern circuit); and each of them is to receive a sum of two hundred guineas, in lieu of the daily allowances prescribed by the Reform act. In revising the lists, they are empowered to give costs (not exceeding 20s. in each case) against any person making a frivolous claim or a frivolous objection. The greatest change proposed in respect to the revision of the lists is the establishment of a court of appeal, sitting in London, to which appeals (on points of law only) against the decisions of revising barristers may be submitted. The court is to consist of three barristers, to be appointed by the three chief justices of the courts at Westminster, and to hold their offices during good behaviour; and the decisions of the court are, we understand, to be final.

There is one provision of great importance not connected with registration or revision, namely, that the register of voters is to be conclusive evidence of the voter's right in all cases of county votes; and also in boroughs, except when he has removed to a distance of more than seven miles from the boundary of the borough; and the questions to be put to the voters on tendering themselves to poll are to be altered accordingly. This is perhaps the most important point in the bill; and its effect will be exceedingly beneficial in preventing the fraud and perjury which have been too common in borough elections. Altogether, so far as we are at present enabled to judge, the proposed changes are all likely to operate beneficially, and to diminish the trouble and annoyance which have resulted from the operation of the existing law.

### Postscript.

Wednesday, March 29th, 1843.

In the house of Commons last night Sir J. Graham, in reply to Lord J. Russell, said that after the representations that had been made on the subject, and

the inconvenience of going on with only a part of the Factories bill before the whole was ready, he thought it right to postpone the whole measure until after Easter, but he would then proceed with the committee.

### THE MAGISTRACY AND THE RECENT DISTURBANCES.

Mr T. DUNCOMBE brought on his motion for a select committee to inquire into the allegations of sundry petitions respecting the conduct of the magistracy during the disturbances in August last. He knew he was not addressing an impartial audience; the benches of the house were covered with justices of the peace—the "great unpaid;" but he had an important public duty to perform in bringing the subject forward. The late discontents were at first confined to the county of Stafford. Early in August they extended into other districts; and on the 9th of that month a great body of men from Ashton marched upon Manchester. The authorities permitted them, on condition of their doing no damage to property, to pass through the town, and occupy an open space, where they were addressed by speakers in the presence of the stipendiary magistrate, and of the military commandant; which led to an impression that, hitherto at least, every thing was lawful. Soon afterwards, however, the affair took a turn which had not been anticipated, and the mill-owners were very generally compelled to discontinue their works. When the parties concerned in the outbreak were apprehended, they were most illegally treated. He mentioned first the case of Leach, a bookseller, who had been arrested because a violent handbill had been posted up at his door. He was taken before the magistrates and kept in custody 13 days, to give time for the prosecutors to get up a case against him, and 96 hours more, after good bail had been offered for him. The place in which he was confined was a narrow cell, containing a bed that swarmed with vermin; so that he was unable to undress, and passed night after night in his clothes. Three other prisoners were treated in the same way. Another, a Mr Scholefield, was arrested, his papers ransacked, his person detained in prison, and after all he was honourably acquitted. Another, named White, was seized on the evidence of a spy; and one of the magistrates told him no bail should be taken from any surety holding the same political opinions. Whom, then, was the chartist to get for his bail? A tory? or one of the League, whose opinions he had been denouncing? White had, as it happened, a surety to offer, a publican, who was of no strong politics; but this surety was deterred by an intimation that if he became bail for White his license would be taken from him. Another prisoner, at Todmorden, was also told by the magistrates that no chartist's bail should be taken; and a similar declaration was made by the Staffordshire magistrates in the case of Mr O' Neill. Here, then, was a direct conspiracy of the Staffordshire and Worcestershire magistrates to violate the subject's right of giving bail. He hoped the Secretary of State would consider whether such magistrates ought to be left in the commission of the peace. After particularising some other cases, and observing that there were yet more disclosed in other petitions, which he would not occupy the time of the House by reading, he said he must, however, mention a petition of Jonathan Brown and eight other men, who were seized at Nottingham without any offence whatever. When they were in custody, a recruiting sergeant came among them and held out terms to induce them to enlist, which overture they resisted. Colonel Rolleston, the magistrate who committed them, declared his resolution to make a severe example of some of them. At the sessions, when they had been tried on the first indictment, they requested that fresh juries might be struck for the trial of the second and third; but this was refused, though there were plenty of jurors present; and the Chairman, who was the committing magistrate, read to the latter juries, in his summing up, evidence which had not been given before them, but only before the first jury. At Preston and Blackburn the magistracy had needlessly and wantonly employed the military, and had caused loss of life, and many severe injuries; and at Halifax an unforgotten old man had been deliberately shot, and no investigation had ever been made into the circumstances by the local authorities. There was a strong feeling in the country that no justice was to be obtained for the poor man; the people looked with strong anxiety to the course which the House would pursue; and he hoped he had satisfied them that he had made out a strong case for inquiry.

General JOHNSON seconded the motion. The excess of the law was proved by the fact, that a judge of assize (Lord Abinger) had reduced it to a third of the amount demanded by the magistrates. The ministry ought to dismiss those magistrates who had refused to receive bail from sureties of obnoxious politics.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that the proposed committee would have no means for arriving at the truth of the facts alleged, or for redressing the grievances complained of. The motion of the member for Finsbury was not very well timed, nor his cases very well selected. They were picked from seven or eight different counties; they had no connexion with one another; and yet it was sought to blend them all in one inquiry. He deeply regretted the necessity which had called for the intervention of the military; and if any soldier had wantonly fired, such an act would be a subject for investigation before a criminal tribunal, and not before a parliamentary committee. The chartist placard asserted that the people at Preston had been fired upon while peacefully agitating for the charter. But the real fact was that a crowd of many thousand men were pressing upon the police force, whom they would not allow to march

forth, and whom they assailed with volleys of stones, till the officer in command of the troops at length found it necessary, in simple self-defence, to fire. The country had been on the eve of a civil war, of which, indeed, it did not escape all the mischiefs. Thousands of men were marching over the land, with every demonstration of physical force; they stopped the mills, compelled the workmen to desist from labour, and then persuaded themselves that, because they worked only by intimidation, destroying no property, and assaulting no individual, they were guilty of no offence. But this was not the law—the law was that these acts amounted to high treason, although the government, exercising a lenity which had been commended by the judges, had resolved to deal with it in a milder form of prosecution. Considering the magnitude of the crime and of the danger, he could not agree that the magistrates had exceeded their duty; and it was a little too much that the prisoners, who might fitly have been indicted for high treason, should now, because they had been indicted but for misdemeanour, and treated with mercy, turn round upon the Crown and say that the whole accusation against them had come to nothing.

LORD FRANCIS EGERTON defended the Preston magistrates; Mr PAKINGTON the magistrates of Dudley; Mr PATTEN and Mr WOOD those of Lancashire; and Colonel ROLLESTON those of Nottingham.

Mr FIELDEN, Captain BERKELEY, and Mr SCOTT said a few words in support of Mr Duncombe's motion; Mr CLIVE, Mr BROTHERTON, Lord INGESTRE, and Mr MUNTZ against it.

Sir J. GRAHAM said, that as the conduct of the magistrates, on the subject of the bail, had undergone a full investigation of the law, a parliamentary inquiry was wholly needless. The magistrates were indeed required to pay costs, because they had been mistaken in point of law; but in point of conduct they received the positive and direct commendation of the court. It was not, as Mr Duncombe had fancied, an impropriety for a magistrate who had committed a prisoner to try him; on the contrary, that was a daily and a necessary usage. But Mr Duncombe seemed, as Sir C. Napier had said on the preceding night, to labour under a monomania—namely, that of believing all judges, magistrates, and juries to be wrong, and all chartists to be right. If this country eventually and wholly escaped the consequences of the wide spread insurrection which raged last year, the deliverance would be principally owing to the conduct of the magistracy throughout that emergency. Sir James Graham then went on to disprove the allegations made against the military; and observed how injuriously such motions as the present, made under the colour of justice, affected the administration of justice itself.

Mr DUNCOMBE briefly replied, and the House divided—

Against the motion .....	196
For it .....	32

Majority against it .....

**NORTHAMPTON.**—A requisition, signed by 395 electors of the above borough, was forwarded to Messrs Smith and Currie, requesting them to support Mr Sharman Crawford's motion, on the 30th instant. Complete suffrage principles are rapidly making way amongst both the middling and working classes of this town.

**FACTORIES BILL.**—ABINGDON. — On Monday evening the 27th instant, a meeting of protestant dissenters and others was held in the lower chapel, Oak street, in this town, to consider the propriety of petitioning parliament against a bill for the better education of children in factory districts. C. Tomkins, Esq., M.D., occupied the chair. In his opening speech he very earnestly and forcibly addressed the electors on their responsibility in the exercise of the franchise, remarking that to them must be attributed the character of the present House of Commons. Rev. E. S. Pryce then explained at some length the nature of the bill, and the partiality and injustice of several of its clauses, and concluded by moving a resolution expressing strong disapprobation of the measure, and the concern and alarm with which the meeting regarded its introduction and progress in the lower house of parliament. A petition was afterwards unanimously adopted to both houses of parliament against the measure, and entrusted to the care of the Earl of Radnor and Captain Pechell, M.P. The meeting was one of the largest and most important assemblies within doors ever known in the borough of Abingdon, and the proceedings were distinguished by great spirit, order, and unanimity.

**FRANCE.**—We take the following shameful account from this morning's *Chronicle*:—"The *Journal des Débats* contains a letter from one of those who accompanied the naval expedition to Otaheite. This letter fully explains how the possession of the island was compassed. The English missionaries strongly opposed the native women going on board any vessels which arrived. They knew the consequences. The French admiral, says the writer, most certainly would not have admitted the women on board, had not the English missionaries opposed it. But hearing that they did oppose it, the French admiral had one hundred women on board dancing and feasting till a late hour. French habits were accordingly the most agreeable, and the consequence was, that the missionaries were voted bores, and Admiral Dupetit Thouars and his sovereign voted delightful persons. The latter was accordingly appointed king of the Polynesian Cythera."

**CORN MARKET.** MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

There is very little fresh corn in the market this morning. Prices are nominally as on Monday, but very little is doing.



## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The substance of R. Thuelborne's letter shall be inserted next week.

We shall also insert, next week, as many as we are able of the educational clauses of the factory bill.

"J. H. Elliot," under consideration.

The correspondence, headed "General Home Missionary society," declined.

"A Welch Dissenter." Yes. Fourpence a head for every member of the family.

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**The Nonconformist.**

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1843.

## SUMMARY.

OUR postscript of last week contained a brief notice of a grand entertainment given, the evening before, in the house of Commons. The subject of it was the Ashburton treaty—the principal performers, Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Peel. Both honourable gentlemen played their parts to admiration. The fencing was excellent—the thrusts were well put in, and adroitly parried. As a party encounter, the debate afforded considerable interest. What it was to end in—wherein was to be found its moral—in what way the people of these realms were likely to benefit by it—it would puzzle wiser heads than ours to determine. We are bound to say that, in our judgment, Sir Robert Peel had the best of it—and, reading the two speeches by the light of those great moral principles which can alone illustrate the wisdom of any given policy, we come to the conclusion that the Premier wielded against his opponent the heavier weapons, and that Lord Palmerston, dexterously as he assailed the honourable baronet, lost, rather than gained, advantage in the contest. The discussion was adjourned, and on Wednesday evening resumed. Mr D'Israeli then took up the foils which Sir Robert Peel had laid down. And now comes the curious part of the history. Whether the House considered that the speeches of the leaders had exhausted the subject—or whether those long-winded effusions had exhausted the House, which is more probable—or whether the remarkably close application to the business of the country, given by members during the present session, and very unintermitting toil (the House not having been counted out much more than seven times in as many weeks) superinduced that weariness which cries aloud for relief—it so happened that the debate was suddenly stopped for want of a sufficiently numerous audience. The matter thus dropped through, Lord Palmerston stating that he was satisfied with the result. The *Morning Chronicle*, indeed, emulous of the length of the opening speeches, took up the subject—but what it made of it we can hardly tell, inasmuch as its article might be called a line indefinitely produced. We believe, however, it did stop somewhere—but we are confident it set down most of its passengers at intermediate stages, and carried very few indeed to the end of its route. The debate itself reminded us of those fat infant faces, supported on either hand by wings, which one sees painted upon ceilings of great men's houses—boys' heads, from which the bodies, if they ever had any, seem to have dropped off in nubibus, and in search of which they are flying about in the clear or troubled sky. It appeared altogether a mistake—just such a mistake as that gentleman committed, who, fancying he had overtaken a friend, began an elaborate complaint of some past grievance—and before he got to the end of it, found he had blundered upon the wrong person; and, therefore, without more ado, let go the arm of the stranger, and stopped abruptly to look in at a shop window, as though nothing had happened. Whiggery is unfortunate this session—or, what is more likely, the whigs and the Tories quarrel upon the stage, and agree behind the scenes—produce entertainments for the people, and live upon the proceeds. Thus is the world gulled!

And this leads us by a single-arched bridge of connexion to the education question, which, under the name of a "Factory bill," is securing the suffrages of all parties in parliament; and which, be its pretence whatever it may, not only aims at, but will effect in a few years, the virtual suppression of dissent. The bill was read a second time on Friday. The Home Secretary was so smooth—had such a respect for dissenters—held them entitled to such commendation for past exertions—was so anxious that his measure should be fairly examined—that he proposed to carry the second reading at

once, and to take the discussion upon the educational clauses after Easter. Of course he succeeded. The principle of the bill, consequently, is affirmed.

Meanwhile, every effort will be made to blind the eyes of dissenters. The *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* out of parliament, Sir James Graham and Lord John Russell in parliament, agree in substance, sentiment, and spirit. All are attempting to wheedle dissenters into a belief that the bill is a *bonâ fide* effort to give an unsectarian religious education to the masses. The inspectors! who can suspect them of a wish to proselyte? The clerical trustee! of course, no sane man could believe him capable of working this machinery for the suppression of heresy. Poor people have only to profess dissent, and their children will escape the infliction of church catechism. Aye! aye! We have had all this, over and over again. The chaplain rules carried out under the new poor law prove clearly enough what profession of dissent by the labouring classes will very soon amount to. In most cases, they might just as well go starve—for the source of their children's earnings will be in the sole hands of the clergyman, who at any moment may dismiss a child from school, deprive him of a school certificate, and render factory employment thereafter impossible. Nay! but who can be base enough to imagine any clerical gentleman capable of such unheard of tyranny? First, *why give him the power?* Secondly, whereabouts in the ecclesiastical history of this country shall we find stuff enough out of which to weave a presumption that clerical trustees will never abuse their powers to the purposes of priestcraft? Ah! but this bill cannot be believed to favour so strongly as is pretended the designs of the clergy, inasmuch as all the high church organs are furiously opposing it as far too liberal. To be sure they are. That is part of their plan. The Puseyite party, who are aiming at the restoration of popery, and to aid whom, we suppose, Mr O'Connell absents himself from parliament just now, having made a sufficient demonstration of anger, Sir James will turn round to dissenters and say—"Really, my friends, I am anxious to meet your wishes—but you see, the feeling of church is very strong on this subject—and oh!" (here the baronet's voice falters with deep emotion) "my heart bleeds for the ignorance and immorality of the factory work people! Surely, surely, it will ill become the fair fame of dissenters for liberality and intelligence" (a sweet smile of complaisance) "to obstruct the passing of a measure which, with all its faults, is a step in the right direction." And so, with a few trifling and immaterial modifications, the bill will pass—and then the church which, as Mr Hume well put it to Sir Robert Inglis, seems to make every question a pounds, shillings, and pence question, will show us some novel pranks.

We earnestly request that some folks whom we decline to name, and who agree so harmoniously and talk so feelingly upon the absolute necessity of giving to the poor a moral and religious education, would give the world some proof of their sincerity, by becoming, themselves both moral and religious. Round about the place where these gentlemen meet, nests of brothels are sheltered by cathedral authorities. Not far from the spot, splendid places of resort, significantly called "hells," spread out to these men their accommodations and their snares. Not three of them would hesitate to fling defiance in the face of his Maker when called to it by "honour." Take any five of them at random, and you shall hear from their lips more profanity in five minutes, than you would hear in walking the whole distance from Palace yard to St Paul's. Follow them to their favourite haunts, and you will observe that the last question they ever ask respecting them is, the moral character of such places. And these gentlemen are consumed with zeal for the religious education of the people! What a pity that the whole of it overshoots their own individual proper selves. Let them begin the work of reformation at home!

We pass over unnoticed the minor questions before parliament—the Registration of Voters bill—the Dog Carts bill, &c.—which claimed the notice of the House of Commons on Thursday evening last. In themselves they are trifles—and, assuredly, in comparison of this Factory bill, they sink into utter insignificance.

On the proceedings of the House on Monday night, it is necessary to speak warily. The civil contingencies were voted, and some of the items were such as to raise discussion, but to no other purpose than to expose the present system of government to the view of the people. The charge for altering the armorial bearings of the Prince of Wales, who as Duke of Cornwall enjoys large revenue, and for christening the royal babe—the expense of the Queen's visit to Scotland last autumn—the passage money of the Bishop of Jerusalem and his suite to Jaffa, which exceeded in amount that of Lord Ashburton to and from the United States—the sums spent in erecting the bishoprics of Barbadoes, Antigua, and Guiana, and of Gibraltar and Tasmania, severally came under notice and were severally dismissed. Upon the objection of Mr Ellice to the salaries of the ecclesiastical commissioners, on the ground that all public taxes fall upon

dissenters, Mr Goulburn said, that if the state deemed it useful to control the church, then (mark the assumption, and observe the simple political object of a state-church), the state must defray the cost of exercising that control. £56,508, proposed to defray the cost of the poor law commission, called up Capt. Pechell and Mr Ferrand, who having discharged themselves of a few denunciations of the assistant poor law commissioners, the chairman reported progress, and the House adjourned.

Out of doors, matters are assuming a somewhat brisker aspect. The League continues to exhibit to very crowded audiences, at Drury lane, and dissenters are positively astir on this education scheme, the whole country over. Their blood is getting up rather high. The Home Secretary has driven the knife right home to the quick. On every side of us we hear the notes of preparation for the contest. Parties are falling into strange consociations. In favour of the bill we have the *Times*, the *Chronicle*, and the *Northern Star*, representing every grade of the aristocracy, tory, whig, and radical, and that section of deluded, misled, and plundered *chartists*, which serves even yet as a skirt for Feargus O'Connor. Against it we find the *Patriot* and the *Leeds Mercury*, the Wesleyans, independents, and baptists—the whole class of Sunday-school teachers—and, strange to say, no one seems to suspect the intrinsic unsoundness of a principle which is leading to such results. On that head, all confess themselves agreed—the formation of the people's minds—their early, moral, and religious culture—ought to be in the hands of government. Oh! the clear-sightedness of dissent!

On the subject of the Nottingham election, and on the proceedings of the Complete Suffrage Union, we have commented briefly in another column. We observe that vacancies have occurred in the representation of the boroughs of Durham and Salisbury. We sincerely hope that both places may be contested by efficient men.

## GOVERNMENT EDUCATION.—HAZY NOTIONS OF ITS WORTH.

THERE is a vast deal of cant uttered on this subject—words which are thought to mean somewhat definite, which when looked at steadily, indicate nothing more than vague, unshaped, misty, intangible apprehensions. The ignorance of the people, it is said, is frightful. Men of all parties are startled at the evidence of it. Any measure, however objectionable in principle, however sectarian, however despotic, which aims at its removal, may be well hailed with satisfaction, by every honest patriot. Education is a good so vast as to neutralise all the bitter ingredients with which party men can mingle it. Make but a people intelligent, and you adopt the surest possible expedient for ultimately enlarging the basis of their freedom.

Now, without for a moment depreciating the worth of education, it will not be unbecoming in us, surely, to ask ourselves, what is the precise thing, that these and numberless other equivalent terms are designed to represent. It is not worth while, especially in an affair of unspeakable importance, to cheat ourselves with words. Any one can trumpet forth mere balderdash. Reflecting men should attach to what they say a clear and well-defined sense.

What, then, we ask, is the end at which we aim? What is the way to that end which we propose to adopt? What connexion is there between the one and the other? A satisfactory reply to these inquiries will help us greatly to form a correct estimate of the worth of government education.

The earnest desire of every sincere and enlightened patriot is, that the people of his country may be a people whose heart is in the right place—a people deeply imbued with right moral sentiments, and in all the relationships of life influenced by them. The grand object is to form in every bosom, if possible, a disposition to act justly—to do right—to be guided in their conduct towards each other by the immutable principles of truth. As persons zealous for education, we can have no other end. The business we assume to undertake is to fashion character—to determine men's moral choice—to influence their habits—and give a right direction to their will. And very fitly it is urged that education which falls short of this in its scope is little worth. The instruction which leaves out the culture of the heart—makes that no part of its design—is devoid of all recommendation.

It is taken for granted, and must of course be admitted, that moral rightness (if we may use the expression) can only be brought about by a correct perception of moral truth—that just sentiments can only find entrance to the will by the door of the understanding. The intellectual faculties are the windows through which moral ideas must be conveyed to the heart. The enlargement of them, consequently, is correctly regarded as a matter of importance. In order to feel aright we must understand aright; and intellectual exercise and discipline always strengthen the ability to understand. If we would obtain from the mind a just judgment, we must take care to lay before it materials for arriving at a well-founded conclusion. Hence we want an intelligent people, in order to the desideratum—moral people.



All information, in some way or other, affects character; but it is quite a mistake to suppose that all information affects it beneficially. Food of every variety is taken into the system by digestion; but many kinds of food, particularly in early life, are baneful. It is not, therefore, a matter of course that the mere communication of what we term knowledge is an object for which we do well to make great national sacrifices, or to run great moral risks.

There are many methods of imparting information. It may be gathered from things or from words—may be communicated by one man to others by speech or by writing. In the last method ideas are wrapt up in certain arbitrary signs in various combination; and ability to understand and to make those signs is the power to read and write.

We feel that an apology is due to our readers for the triteness of these remarks. Our object, however, is to leave upon their minds an impression of the immense interval subsisting between the end proposed in giving education to the people, and the means at the disposal of government for reaching this end. The only certain good which the labouring classes will derive from the scheme before the legislature, and regarded by all parties with favour so marked, and with unanimity so unwonted, is a knowledge of those symbols by which ideas are communicated by one mind to another, through the medium of the eye instead of the ear. The question is, whether the realisation of such knowledge will compensate for all the mischiefs which the plan adopted to compass it may entail upon the country? And this is a question which is not to be settled by the off-hand utterance of the prevailing cant of the day. If education mean nothing more than ability to read and write, we may pay too dearly for the whistle; if it mean more than this, we must inquire what that more is.

Competency to read and write is unquestionably to be desired. A knowledge of letters constitutes the key to that immense depository of information stored up in books. It by no means follows, however, that access to all this information is necessarily enjoyed by him who has the key. A man may be able to open the garden gate at Hampton court, and may be at liberty to recreate himself within the enclosure, to whom, on account of his residing in Northumberland, the privilege is practically of very inconsiderable value. Factory hands may be taught by government to read and write—but whilst heavy taxes are imposed upon all the means of knowledge, and the whole system of legislation tends by inevitable steps to throw upon our manufacturing poor the necessity of devoting, yearly, more and more time, and energy, and health, honestly to acquire the bare pittance required for a scanty subsistence, we cannot rely very confidently upon such instruction to moralise the masses. The alphabet will not work miracles. The aptest reader will profit but little of letters, except as he is able by means of them to get at useful information—and whilst, on the one hand, his energies are exhausted by toil, increased both in amount and in severity by all kinds of monopoly, we hold it to be a mere delusion to imagine that the power to read and write will considerably mend the condition of the millions. To those who have neither books, nor time, nor physical strength, of what great practical advantage will the mere knowledge of letters prove?

Estimating the good, however, at its highest value, the worth of it will be admitted to be not in itself, but to be derived from the ultimate object towards which it is part of the way—namely, amelioration and improvement of the moral character. Supposing that whilst government is employed in giving to our youth the key to that information contained in books, which, being hereafter acquired as opportunity shall occur, is calculated suitably to affect the heart—supposing, we say, itself should be beforehand with its pupils—forestal that contemplated opportunity—reach the will and the disposition by a shorter cut than through the medium of books—and by the oral instruction of the schoolmaster, and the thousand influences which may be made to hover about a state school, should succeed in sowing the seeds of opinions, and planting maxims, and gendering habits, which no subsequent information gleaned out of books is likely to kill—why, then, it is just possible that the worth of the mechanical instruction, may be outweighed altogether by the vicious quality of the moral—and that, whilst boys are learning the alphabet, they are likewise imbibing principles which will hereafter render the alphabet worse than useless to them.

Now, what we wish to render clear to the minds of our readers is this, that this scheme of government education means the fashioning of the moral sentiments of the people, in early life, upon the priestly model; and the communication of a mere power to read and write as the necessary adjunct. Through the pretence of teaching alphabets and figures, history, geography, and compound multiplication, all those slavish maxims are intended to ooze, which by perpetual dripping upon a child's heart, will wear out from it all natural sense of his own independence, and harden it for all future time against the germination therein of a single

just, manly, and patriotic feeling. When men are so anxious to affirm the principle of this bill, we ask them whether this is the thing they intend to promote? When dissenters insist on the duty of the state to provide education for the people, we demand from them whether the education they refer to have reference to the heart or to the head? We put the whole subject to their consideration in a few brief sentences. Can mere mechanical instruction be communicated, or ought it to be generally communicated to the young, without, at the same time, an attempt to imbue the mind with the highest and most important moral truths? Can morality be taught apart from religion? Is it right to commit the instruction of the young, in religion, to the management of the legislature? If it be, what single argument can be adduced in opposition to religious establishments? We observe that the petitions of dissenters, of their public bodies, of their ministers, concede the position that the education of the community devolves upon the government. Standing upon such a position as this, we cannot conceive of any rational complaint against the measure of Sir James Graham. But thus it has always been with dissenters. Afraid to admit even to themselves the obvious corollaries of their own principles, they lose in moral power what for a time they seem to gain in numbers: and, when the day arrives at which a government strong enough to attempt their injury takes the reins of power, they are sure to be how-stringed with their own concessions.

Give us, says one organ of dissenting opinion, and that, too, in most other matters a right-thinking one, give us for the labouring classes a Puseyite education rather than no education at all. What means this? Where is the stark inconsistency of these things to end? If, by education be meant the instilling into people's hearts of right sentiments, the stirring up within them an affection for truth, the infusion into their souls of high, generous, noble, divine principles, why then a Puseyite clergyman may be the conduit through which these things flow into a child's mind for aught we care. But, if by education be meant nothing more than the communication of the merest elementary secular knowledge, and the occasion for furnishing this knowledge is rendered available to state priests to bandage up human hearts in their absurdities, to break down human wills by their superstitious notions, to make all religion consist in sacerdotal manipulations, and belief in the gospel to amount to nothing more than a blind credulity in the assumptions of vain and arrogant priests, then, surely, if a man knows what he affirms, and is not carried down by the stream of the merest cant of the day, he can give utterance to no such sentiment as that above recorded, unless, indeed, he himself have faith in genuflections and paternosters. No! Rather let the people of this country, as they have done, scramble about in the midst of toil and privation, and labour, after such ideas as they can pick up in converse one with another—in dame, and Sunday, and British schools, or at no school at all. If we must have the one or the other, let's have the savagism of ancient Britain rather than the cowering, trembling, slavish, superstition of modern Spain. Give us anything—anything, rather than a people moulded to answer the purposes of a priesthood and an aristocracy. There is some hope of natural brutality—there is none whatever of a community blighted with monkish delusions.

#### ORDERS TO MARCH.

We give insertion, in the columns of our present number, to an address of the National Complete Suffrage Union to the reformers of Great Britain and Ireland. It will scarcely be necessary for us to direct the earnest attention of our readers to this document. If the allegations it contains be true; if its representations of the present condition of Great Britain be correct; if the general sentiments it advances be consistent with enlightened reason and with Christian principle; then, assuredly, ought its appeals to tell upon the conscience of the liberal community, and to brush aside, with unsparing hand, the flimsy sophistries with which party men, professing liberal opinions, have hitherto opposed this movement. We trust the address will speak trumpet-tongued to every sincere patriot throughout the empire, and startle from their present apparent indifference all the remaining friends of national progress. The recent fearful aggressions made by the aristocracy upon our constitutional landmarks, threaten all classes of the people with a not distant extinction of their civil liberties. The urgency of the danger calls for a union of the people in seeking an efficient remedy. That danger and its source are thus pointed out by the address before us:—

"It is impossible to draw in lines too vivid and startling the present deplorable condition and aspect of Great Britain. The thews and sinews of the community, its physical strength and industry, are wasting away for want of sufficient employment. The broad basis of society, upon which all temporal prosperity must ever rest, is crumbling into dust. Want is preying not merely upon the comforts, but upon the morals, the civilisation, the very humanity of our labouring poor. Misery is fast dissolving the cement which binds class and class together, destroying among the masses all

kindness of feeling, brutalising their domestic habits, and undermining their principles of subordination to government. Ground down by oppression, the people are beginning to unlearn their kinship to man, and to renounce their faith in God. How long that wonderful forbearance of spirit, which has hitherto restrained them from reckless violence, will continue to hold them back, is what no Christian or patriotic individual would willingly put to the test. Certain as is every appeal to force to end in the overthrow of the people, it is not less certain that there are limits of oppression beyond which men cannot be driven without provoking that appeal."

Thus much with regard to the masses which form the solid substratum of society. Misgovernment has, for years past, been telling in direful strokes upon them. The evil is now proceeding upwards, involving in one general ruin class after class in the social scale. Again we adopt the language of the address:—

"The deep destitution of the industrious orders, originating in a legislative contraction of the sphere for profitable labour, aggravated by excessive taxation, and scattering on every hand the seeds of disorganisation and ruin, although the most alarming, is not by any means the only painful feature of the present times. It could not but be accompanied with other and kindred evils. A healthy trade cannot consist with prevailing poverty among the working classes. And, notwithstanding occasional symptoms of revival, at no former period of the nation's history was trade, in all its branches, so depressed, and we have cause to fear so permanently depressed, as at present. Capital, unproductive now in its ordinary channels, is withdrawn and collected into large and profitless masses. Credit is giving way. Bankruptcy is extending its ravages. All ranks, with the exception of those possessed of fixed property, are suffering. All the staple interests of the country (save those sustained by legalised monopoly) not merely languish, but are ready to expire. By the acknowledgment of our rulers themselves, distress is all but universal."

The source of these fast thickening calamities is to the honest, to the patriotic, to the truthful, not far to seek. The council of the Union may well declare, in terms as unequivocal as the fact is sure, that in this country government by representation is but a hollow show—a delusive pretence:—

"It is clear even to the dullest and most superficial observation, that the legislative bodies of this country are not so framed as to give easy expression to the national will. So slow and so obstructive are they found in working, that no public force short of revolution can move them, in matters of importance, to a compliance with the people's wishes. They have ends to answer, separate from, and antagonistic to, those which are desired by the empire at large. And such they will continue to have, whilst the House of Commons is representative of but an inconsiderable section of the community. An assembly chosen in violation of the first principles of right, by a narrow constituency rendered manageable by intimidation, and steeped to the lips in corruption, pursues, consistently enough, none but class interests. Monopoly usurps the name of the people of Great Britain to work out its deadly purposes—and that institution which above all others was designed to secure for the country the blessing of just government, is turned into the instrument of their spoliation and oppression. The people of this land are not represented. The outward show of parliamentary representation is a fraud. The powers of legislation are bought with money. The present House of Commons represents nothing more than upwards of a million pounds spent in bribery to uphold monopoly—it is a tool, purchased by a powerful landed and monied aristocracy, to carve out their own objects, under guise of making laws for the well-being of the people. This is the real evil under which we groan—the fruitful source of all other evils. Hence, the distress of the country! Hence, the dark prospects of national decay!"

Once more, then, we say that if these representations be correct, then the appeals which borrow their force from them ought in reason to produce a powerful impression upon the minds of electors. Our own views of their duty we have again and again obtruded upon the notice of our readers. We are now thankful to place before them those views, backed and enforced by the sanction of the Complete Suffrage Union. We feel it to be unnecessary to do more this week than to give prominence to some of the more important paragraphs of this address. We may return to the subject in our next number. Meanwhile, we conclude in the language of the council:—

"Fellow countrymen! We call upon you to resolve upon taking back into your own keeping that ascendant power which an oligarchy has too long usurped—and to proceed at once to a peaceful organisation, with a view, at the next general election, of wresting from a faction what an entire people alone can justly claim and enjoy. We invite, we urge, we implore you, as rational men, as honest citizens, as patriots, as Christians, instantly to decide upon quiet but determined preparation for sending back to parliament, when next an appeal is made to the electoral body, a majority of members pledged to the principles of complete suffrage."

#### NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

THE triumph of Mr Walter over Mr Sturge at the last Nottingham election is now proved to have been the result of extensive bribery. Mr Walter has been unseated by a committee having a tory chairman. The Times cries out against the stringency of the recent act, which, in the first applications of it, has served to find out and to expose the latest instance of those mal-practices of which most of the gentlemen now holding seats in the house of Commons had been heretofore guilty. The writ for Nottingham is suspended until Thursday next, for what precise purpose does not clearly appear, unless to give Lord Lincoln, whose party have done their utmost to corrupt the constituency



of that borough, an opportunity of attempting that scheme which he seems to have cherished ever since whigs out-bought Tories, to procure the disfranchisement of that place. Of future prospects we are unable to speak. Mr Sturge, in the belief that his services to the cause of complete suffrage will be more useful out of doors than in parliament, declines to stand. Some communication has been held with Mr Gisborne, but he, we believe, will not stand in opposition to Sir George Larpent. There are old electioneering debts to be paid, and the next candidate must pay them. Bribery of course is to be discouraged, but bribery in this new form who can object to? Alas! alas! for the consistency of Nottingham. But yesterday so proud, so glorious—to-day sunk into such depths of political humiliation. There are good men and true, whom Nottingham might exult in sending to the house of Commons. The liberal constituency, however, seems again to be bestridden by whiggery and corruption. Poor Nottingham! If it be the intention of the electors to return a whig, let them do so noiselessly, and hasten back to forgetfulness as speedily as possible.

### The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The usual weekly meeting of the council of the National Complete Suffrage Union was held at the office, Waterloo street, Birmingham, on Monday, the 27th inst, when the following business was transacted:—

"Resolved—That the following Address be adopted for circulation among the complete suffrage associations of the United Kingdom."

#### ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION TO THE REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN! In the history of states it will sometimes occur that political mismanagement presses so directly and so heavily upon the central springs of national well-being, as to cause a simultaneous paralysis, and to threaten a speedy extinction, of all great and important interests, civil, commercial, political, and religious—as to render visible, in every sphere of thought and action, the signs of impending ruin—and as to prove, even to the most sanguine advocates of "things as they are," the impossibility of working out ordinary relief through the machinery of existing institutions. Such times constitute the crisis of a country's history, and, fraught as they are with consequences of incalculable moment, demand from every citizen a more than usual care for the common weal, and not only excuse but require, individual forwardness to put forth, in such direction as may appear suitable, the most zealous and determined efforts, public as well as private, to save the empire from destruction. We make, therefore, no apology for addressing you. A deep sense of duty bids us set at naught the probable imputation of presumption.

It is impossible to draw in lines too vivid and startling the present deplorable condition and aspect of Great Britain. The thews and sinews of the community, its physical strength and industry, are wasting away for want of sufficient employment. The broad basis of society, upon which all temporal prosperity must ever rest, is crumbling into dust. Want is preying not merely upon the comforts, but upon the morals, the civilisation, the very humanity of our labouring poor. Misery is fast dissolving the cement which binds class and class together, destroying among the masses all kindness of feeling, brutalising their domestic habits, and undermining their principles of subordination to government. Ground down by oppression, the people are beginning to unlearn their kinship to man, and to renounce their faith in God. How long that wonderful forbearance of spirit, which has hitherto restrained them from reckless violence, will continue to hold them back, is what no Christian or patriotic individual would willingly put to the test. Certain as is every appeal to force to end in the overthrow of the people, it is not less certain that there are limits of oppression beyond which men cannot be driven without provoking that appeal.

The deep destitution of the industrious orders, originating in a legislative contraction of the sphere for profitable labour, aggravated by excessive taxation, and scattering on every hand the seeds of disorganisation and ruin, although the most alarming, is not by any means the only painful feature of the present times. It could not but be accompanied with other and kindred evils. A healthy trade cannot consist with prevailing poverty among the working classes. And, notwithstanding occasional symptoms of revival, at no former period of the nation's history, was trade, in all its branches, so depressed, and, we have cause to fear, so permanently depressed, as at present. Capital, unproductive now in its ordinary channels, is withdrawn and collected into large and profitless masses. Credit is giving way. Bankruptcy is extending its ravages. All ranks, with the exception of those possessed of fixed property, are suffering. All the staple interests of the country (save those sustained by legalised monopoly) not merely languish but are ready to expire. By the acknowledgment of our rulers themselves, distress is all but universal.

Nor does it become us, as citizens, to shut our eyes to the fact, that as the circle of poverty becomes daily more extensive, that of the classes compelled to maintain it grows narrower. As rate-payers diminish in number, rates increase in amount—and the means of those who have will soon prove inadequate for the wants of those who have not. To prevent a system of general pillage, in such case, a large increase of force will be placed at the disposal of the executive government. Periodical excitements, and oft-re-

curing seasons of popular disquietude, will end in a fearful abridgment of both our social and political liberties. Great Britain will then be ruled exclusively by the sword—and an iron despotism, unfriendly to commerce, destructive of all progress towards refinement, at once expensive and degrading, must be established upon the ruins of our constitution.

Fellow countrymen! Were the thickening troubles of the land inflicted by the direct intervention of divine Providence, we trust we should know and practically recognise the duty of un murmuring resignation. But we trace them, not to the will of God, but to the injustice of man. We see within the shores of Britain all the elements of national prosperity and greatness. A genial climate—a fertile soil—incalculable stores of mineral wealth—facilities, such as no other country can boast of, of domestic inter-communication—boundless capital—an industrious population—social habits, which, for elevation, refinement, and morality, although capable of great improvement, will yet bear comparison with those of any people upon earth—here are all the requisites for a thriving nation. Whence, then, comes the blight which withers up every branch of trading, manufacturing, and commercial enterprise? Heaven has not smitten us—but man. Selfishness and injustice in our rulers have paralysed the energies of a great empire—have swept over the land with devastation more fearful than the heaviest natural calamities—and have conducted to a feeling, so obviously at war with the designs of the Almighty Creator, that life itself is undesirable, and that its multiplication is a curse and not a blessing.

It is clear even to the dull and most superficial observation, that the legislative bodies of this country, are not so framed as to give expression to the national will. So slow and so obstructive are they found in working, that no public force short of revolution can move them, in matters of importance, to a compliance with the people's wishes. They have ends to answer, separate from, and antagonistic to, those which are desired by the empire at large. And such they will continue to have, whilst the House of Commons is representative of but an inconsiderable section of the community. An assembly chosen in violation of the first principles of right, by a narrow constituency rendered manageable by intimidation, and steeped to the lips in corruption, pursues, consistently enough, none but class interests. Monopoly usurps the name of the people of Great Britain to work out its deadly purposes—and that institution which above all others was designed to secure for the country the blessings of just government, is turned into the instrument of their spoliation and oppression. *The people of this land are not represented. The outward show of parliamentary representation is a fraud. The powers of legislation are bought with money. The present House of Commons represents nothing more than upwards of a million pounds spent in bribery to uphold monopoly—it is a tool, purchased by a powerful landed and monied aristocracy, to carve out their own objects, under guise of making laws for the well-being of the people. This is the real evil under which we groan—the fruitful source of all other evils. Hence, the distress of the country! Hence, the dark prospects of national decay!*

To secure to the people of Great Britain and Ireland an efficient control over their own affairs, by obtaining for them a real, in the place of a nominal and fictitious parliamentary representation, is the single object of the National Complete Suffrage Union. We put ourselves into no position of hostility against the present forms of the constitution. Those forms, however, exist for the nation, not for a limited section of it only. The people of a state should be regarded as the supreme end as well as the supreme power of a state. In this country they are neither. Government is neither for them nor of them—aims not at their advantage—rests not on their authority. The practical evils of their exclusion from the management of national policy and legislation, by means of their freely-chosen representatives, are before you. All experience agrees in proving that self-elected bodies cannot be safely entrusted with public affairs. Our House of Commons is virtually self-elected—and whenever the interests of the class of which it is composed diverge from those of the empire at large, reason leads you to expect that the former will be preferred. The fault is not so much in the men as in their position. Human nature, furnished with such opportunities of promoting class, at the expense of general, interests, armed with such power, and shielded by such irresponsibility as our House of Commons on the present system, cannot and will not produce better fruits.

Fellow countrymen! We ask you to give up no agitation for practical and commercial reform in which you may at present be engaged. The history of every session, however, proves the utter inadequacy of agitation for these objects, whilst the question of organic reform is placed in abeyance. Such means and influences as you can bring to bear upon the legislature in furtherance of the abolition of the corn and provision laws we counsel you to retain, to augment, to wield, but not to confide in as sufficient. Whilst you are thus plying the existing narrow representative system, take steps, as prudence dictates, for securing a just and efficient one. Get, even now, in the shape of commercial reform all that you can get by vigorous and united effort—but resolve upon securing at the next general election nothing short of a full, fair, and free representation of the people. Proceed at once to organise yourselves for the accomplishment of this grand result. The contest must ultimately be successful. The issue of it would be decisive. The spirit of oligarchy being laid, the mischief perpetrated by it would speedily disappear.

Fellow countrymen! We call upon you to resolve upon taking back into your own keeping that ascendant power which an oligarchy has too long usurped

—and to proceed at once to a peaceful organisation, with a view, at the next general election, of wresting from faction what an entire people alone can justly claim and enjoy. We invite, we urge, we implore you, as rational men, as honest citizens, as patriots, as Christians, instantly to decide upon quiet but determined preparation, for sending back to parliament, when next an appeal is made to the electoral body, a majority of members pledged to the principles of complete suffrage.

The essential agreement of these principles with the spirit and leading maxims of Christianity, will, we trust, secure for them the active co-operation of the religious world. Men professing to have faith in the gospel are under especial obligations to pay respect to our common nature, and to "do unto others as they would that others should do unto them." A more fertile source of immorality—a more flagrant violation of every precept of justice—the cause of a more awful desecration of sacred things, than the present monopoly of legislation has proved, it is impossible to expect under any government. Nothing, in this respect, can be worse than the existing system. Have we not reason to hope that by rendering equal justice to all—a duty enjoined by Christianity—the welfare of all would be certainly secured?

Signed in the name and on behalf of the council,  
JOSEPH STURGE, PRESIDENT.

"Resolved—That the conductors of the liberal metropolitan and provincial journals be respectfully solicited to give it increased publication by insertions in their respective papers."

It was also unanimously resolved—

"That it be printed in the cheapest form; and that complete suffrage associations, wherever they exist, but especially in borough towns, be requested to order it from the Tract Depot of the Union, and circulate it freely amongst the electors."

The following important resolution was then unanimously adopted:—

"That this council most earnestly implore the friends of complete suffrage on no account, even where present expediency would appear to dictate such a course, to enter into any compromise with professed liberals, refusing to pledge themselves to the essential principle of this movement, and beg to express their confident conviction, that nothing on the whole will tend to place that principle in a position to command triumph so effectually, as faithful adherence to it in all its integrity, and under all circumstances."

#### EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

A correspondent at Newport, Monmouth, writes—  
"Here are in Newport a goodly number who sympathise with the object of the Complete Suffrage Union, and there are a number who would also sympathise, provided those objects were manfully and explicitly made known to them. From a variety of causes, we, that is the most liberal minded of us, are not in a position by any means to disseminate the knowledge, we therefore apply to you for assistance. Could you send an enlightened lecturer amongst us? . . . . A most flourishing association might be formed—such an one as would soon embrace a full majority of the electoral constituency of our borough."

Extract of a letter from the Rev. T. Spencer, of Hinton Charter house:—

"I delivered lectures on the suffrage at Colchester, Norwich, and Ipswich, last week; the audiences were extremely attentive. At Norwich there were more than 1,000 persons, although each paid for admission. The leading dissenting ministers were there; and also met me at breakfast the next morning. I think the cause in a very flourishing condition in Norwich, and also in Ipswich, where I dined with the Editor of the *Suffolk Chronicle*, who is entirely with us."

From Thomas Thompson, Esq., Sunderland—  
"Herewith I send you a *Sunderland Herald*, with an article from the *Nonconformist*, headed, 'Orders for New Machinery.' The week before contained the 'Abstract of the Complete Suffrage Bill,' and the week before that the announcement of the memorials having been signed by above 100 electors. I have just received Mr Crawford's letter, and have sent it to the Editor of the *Herald* for insertion, and have no doubt it will appear next week."

Letters were read from F. Warren, Manchester; Thomas Beggs, Nottingham; Thomas Pearce, Tavistock; C. S. Neesom, London; Sir John Easthope; W. S. Crawford; J. S. Trelawney; J. Hasler, Hull; E. W. Belben, Reading; W. Bontems, Brentford.

The following address to the inhabitants of Birmingham has been adopted and circulated by the Council:—

"To the Inhabitants of Birmingham, and especially to those who contribute to the Town Hall rates."

"The repeated refusal by the 'commissioners of the Street act' to grant the use of the Town hall to the 'Complete Suffrage Union,' cannot fail to have attracted your attention. As this proceeding has cast an utterly groundless imputation upon the Union, and also involves questions of great public importance—the council of that body beg to lay before you a statement of the facts."

"The Town hall was occupied, at the formation of the Union, in April, 1842, during several consecutive days."

"In August, application was made for the use of the hall, upon the occasion of electing delegates to a conference called to devise a specific course of conduct for the guidance of the friends of peace and order, during the excitement which then prevailed in some parts of the kingdom; the application was refused by the Town hall committee in the following terms:—

"That, referring to the recent proclamation of her Majesty, and the recent proceedings of the magistrates of the borough, this committee do not feel justified in granting the use of the Town hall for the purpose suggested by Mr Sturge."

"More than two months afterwards, the Council convened another conference to assemble in December, the chief object of which was to prepare a bill embodying the principles of complete suffrage. All pretence of being bound by the Queen's proclamation was then at an end, and the country was in a state of profound tranquillity. Application was made for the use of the hall to elect delegates to this conference. The following is the resolution of the committee in reply to this application, under date 24th October."

"That, under the present circumstances of the country, this committee does not feel justified in granting the use of the Town hall for the purpose suggested by Mr Sturge."

"The question was then brought before the whole body of commissioners, who replied—

"That this meeting sees no reason to differ from the Town hall committee in the resolution they have already come to on a similar application."

"Under these circumstances, the meeting to elect delegates was held in another place."



"In December an application was made for the use of the Town hall, for the conference then about to assemble, and on this occasion 43 councillors of the borough memorialised the Town hall committee, stating amongst other things, that 'less than a year ago, a town's meeting had been held in the hall, under the presidency of the late mayor, at which, on the motion of three aldermen, the necessity for complete suffrage was unanimously acknowledged by definite resolutions,' and suggesting that 'the credit of the town required that the hall should not now be closed against the discussion of this momentous subject.'

"Notwithstanding this appeal, the hall was again refused.

"In the course of last month the Council of the Union invited Thomas Spencer of Hinton, near Bath, a highly respectable clergyman of the established church, to deliver a lecture in Birmingham on complete suffrage, and again applied for the use of the Town hall, which has been again refused by the body of commissioners, there being only three dissentients. On this occasion the request was supported by a memorial from 291 rate-payers of Town hall rates, whose total assessments probably would amount to considerably more than £20,000. And on this, and all preceding application, satisfactory security was offered for the usual charges, and for any damage which the building might incur.

"The reasons assigned for these refusals are worthy of comment.

"The first reason assigned is the Queen's proclamation against illegal meetings. But was the proposed meeting an illegal one? No. The next reason is the proceedings of the borough magistrates. This refers to the suppression by the magistrates, under the sanction of the royal proclamation, of those meetings which they deemed to be illegal. To this the answer is, that the authorities knew the Council of the Union did not contemplate any such meeting, but simply one for the expression of opinion, to which all men have a right. So anxiously did the Council at this period guard all their proceedings, that they even submitted the proof sheets of their publications for the perusal of the commissioner of police, and have his approval in writing, now in their possession, upon the address which they issued to the middle and enfranchised classes, when the Town hall was closed against them.

"The reasons above stated are not, however, the only ones which were assigned.

"In October, the committee of commissioners say that 'the circumstances of the country' do not justify them in granting the request, and their decision is confirmed by the whole body. What these 'circumstances' were no attempt has ever been made to explain.

"In December, the hall is refused by the committee, because they had previously refused! and by the commissioners because the committee had refused! and again in March it is refused by the commissioners, avowedly for the same reason. The reason for the first refusal is a temporary one, and yet upon it is built no less than five subsequent refusals; and in the end the question is made one of confidence between the commissioners and their committee. It requires no argument to show how discreditable are all these reasons. However fallacious in themselves, they clearly indicate a determination to put down discussion on the great subject of popular representation.

"In this way respectable rate payers are treated. They are called on to contribute largely towards the expense of the building, from which, on the most trivial and inconsistent pretences, they are excluded, and excluded under circumstances which convey the most unjust and injurious imputations.

"From the proceedings of the commissioners, the natural inference is, that either the principles or conduct of the Complete Suffrage Union are dangerous to the peace of society. The Union are content to be tried by this test, and challenge the most rigid scrutiny into all their proceedings.

"An attempt was made to justify the last refusal by alleging that these principles are obnoxious to the inhabitants generally. How then did it happen that, on their recent introduction into the town council, their adoption by that body was lost by a majority of only one? The plea is not true. Even if it were, a self-elected body, whose vacancies, it is notorious, are carefully supplied from those who hold political principles adverse to popular representation, ought not to advance it.

"But the true question is this—By what right have these insulting refusals been issued?

"The act of parliament from which the commissioners derive their existence recites that, 'by reason of the magnitude of the town of Birmingham and the number of inhabitants thereof, the public buildings are so small and inconvenient for the holding of meetings of the rate payers, and other public meetings, and it is desirable to erect a suitable Town hall for the said purposes.'

"And it then directs that a hall shall be erected 'capable of containing at least 3,000 persons,' and vests the control thereof (as to giving orders for meetings to be held there), in the high bailiff for the time being, of Birmingham, any two Warwickshire magistrates, or any ten commissioners.

"Under this act the commissioners have no right whatever to levy rates with the one hand, and withhold the use of the Town hall from the rate payers with the other. They are merely trustees of a building intended for public purposes, and whenever it is required by the rate payers for a meeting, their sole care ought to be to take sufficient security for its preservation from damage. They have no right to assume the office of a public censor, and to sit in judgment upon the correctness or incorrectness of the views of the parties calling the meeting. Still less are they entitled to gratify their own political hostilities by the petty tyranny of thus, by a side-wind, attempting to crush their political opponents. Least of all ought they to foment and encourage party jealousies, by arraying one portion of the rate payers against another, and disregard a numerous and respectable memorial, because it is suggested that a more numerous counter-memorial from a hostile political party might be obtained.

"The conduct of the commissioners is illegal, no power having been conferred on them by parliament to act as they have done. It is partial and unfair, for they are ever ready to open the hall upon every occasion, when required to do so by their own political partisans—it is oppressive and subversive of the true principles of freedom, which allow to every man an unlimited expression of opinion so long as he does not disturb the peace of society—and it is highly dangerous, for the people, when shut out of their proper places of public resort, are

too often driven to assemble in numerous secret combinations, from which spring the most fearful and revolutionary projects.

"The conduct which has been pursued towards the council of the Complete Suffrage Union is, to them personally, of comparatively small importance. Their work of enlightening the public mind upon the great principles of national representation does not depend upon their having access to the Town hall of Birmingham; but, to the rate payers and inhabitants, it must be a most serious question whether their local affairs shall be administered by a body who have exhibited conduct at once illegal, oppressive, and dangerous; whether their money shall still be contributed to maintain a system at variance with the principles of justice; and, whether their town shall be permitted to acquire a character of narrow exclusiveness.

"Signed on behalf of the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union.

"JOSEPH STURGE, President."

Birmingham, 3d Month (March) 20, 1843.

LEEDS.—On Wednesday evening last, the Leeds Complete Suffrage association formally opened their new room, over the hat shop lately occupied by Mr Powley, in Kirkgate, when a lecture, on the principles and objects of the society, was delivered by the Rev. J. E. Giles, the talented and respected pastor of the baptist chapel, South parade. The room in which the meeting was held was crowded to excess, large numbers being unable to obtain admission. The proceedings commenced at half past seven o'clock, when Dr Smiles was unanimously called to the chair, and after a few general observations, introduced the lecturer to the meeting. The Rev. J. E. Giles commenced by saying that, in consequence of his numerous public and private engagements, as well as personal indisposition, he had been unable to give that attention to the subject that he could have wished. He then referred to his position, as a minister of the gospel, in connexion with the cause of complete suffrage:—

Now, they must be perfectly well aware that he made no little sacrifice, as a minister of religion, in appearing before them on a question like the present. If he consulted his ease, his reputation, or his advancement simply in the character of a minister, viewed in connexion with the state of feeling at the present moment, he would not have been present that night. But he trusted whenever the great questions of justice and righteousness between him and God, or between man and man were concerned, he should ever be prepared to sacrifice his ease, his comfort, and his petty individual interests for the general welfare of his fellow men. There were those, he meant not simply the enemies of their cause, or rather the enemies of that which was liberal—but there were those amongst persons who were denominated the liberal party, and he was sorry to say it, there were many among the great body of dissenters, and he was yet more sorry to say that there were many among the great and enlightened body of dissenting ministers, who thought that the Christian minister had nothing whatever to do with questions of this kind. He might denounce the vices of an apprentice boy, or of a servant maid. If he possessed the most gigantic intellect, he might go to work like a tame elephant, to pick up sixpences and pins for the amusement of mankind. But when there was any great corruption, when there was any monstrous monopoly set up which bestrode the world like a Colossus, keeping the various classes of mankind trampled down to the dust, then he was to become a worshipper. At all events he was to see all the iniquity that was framed by law, all the transgressions that were committed by the throne and power of iniquity; to see it in silence, and act a neutral part. That neutral part he would never act. That silence he never would maintain. If he was to denounce private vices, he would denounce public ones too. If he was to denounce those comparatively harmless and innocent corruptions, that had never imparted to them the powers or authority of law, he would denounce also those corruptions that had imparted to them the power and authority of law, and which by means of the power and authority thus imparted, were capable of inflicting infinitely greater and more lasting evils upon mankind.

The various objections to the principle of complete suffrage were then examined and answered. He advocated them, not only on moral and political, but religious grounds.

Many persons would be surprised to hear him say that he advocated complete suffrage, on the ground of scripture. He was very well aware that the apostles were very delicate about giving any direct manifestation of the application of Christianity to the various governments that existed in their day, and he thought they would have been very unwise men to have acted otherwise; but he maintained that there were laid down in scripture certain great principles and laws, which it was impossible consistently to embrace, and at the same time to reject universal suffrage. Why, he was told in scripture, that God had made of one flesh, all men that dwelt upon the face of the earth; that all men were to be traced up to one common origin; that he was placed here on a common level with his fellow-creatures; and not only was he commanded to call them brethren; but he was commanded to "honour all men." Now, he asked, how he could look on his fellow-men as belonging to the same family with himself, if he usurped the right to make laws for them, and compelled them to submit to laws, in the making of which they had no voice. How was he to look at the working classes of the country as a brotherhood to which he belonged, if he insisted that they should submit to laws of his making; and he was not willing to yield submission to laws of their making in return. And especially, he asked, how was he to honour all men unless he conceded this right of the suffrage? Did the working men think he honoured them when he said to them, "Really, you are too stupid to be trusted with a voice in the making of the laws—you understand nothing about your own interests, and I understand them a great deal better than you do, and I will make laws for you." Was that honouring their fellow-men? He could not see how the principles and precepts of scripture could be adopted, and at the same time the principles of complete suffrage denied. If he looked through the New Testament from the beginning to the end, he must come to the conclusion that it was altogether a democratical book. Why Christ's kingdom—with reverence be it said—so far as human legislation was concerned, was democratical. Did not Christ say—"The kings of the earth usurp authority, and the great men amongst the Gentiles exercise power over them; but it shall not be so with you—for one is your Master, and all ye are brethren?" Nay, not only were they told what they should not do, but what they ought to do. They found that the passing of all laws laid down absolutely excepting those by God himself—that the passing of all measures affecting the interests of the church of Jesus Christ, were vested in the people by universal suffrage. The people were to choose their ministers—the people were to be consulted in the admission of members—and the people were enjoined to exclude unworthy members. Now, he asked if the eternal God was not afraid to trust the whole people with the interests of his kingdom, what were men that they should be afraid to trust the great body of their fellow-men, with the comparatively little and petty interests of earthly nations?

He concluded with a few words of advice to the complete suffrage party.

What did Sir Robert Peel say to his party? "The battle, gentlemen, must be fought in the register courts; register! register! register! is the advice I give you!" Gentlemen, register! register! register! Organise! organise! organise! is the advice I give to you. By becoming organised you will take a greater interest and will get brighter and brighter, and warmer and

warmer, by coming again and again to the altar in which burns the fire of liberty. In proportion as you do this, you will show a more formidable front to the enemy, and carry dismay into their ranks, for they must judge of your forces by the number of friends you have recorded; and it is by showing how extensively the movement has diffused itself amongst the various classes of society, that you are to overawe your opponents. Gentlemen, you cannot expect that such individuals as myself can leave a large flock to be often engaged in works of this kind, or to be employed in the details of the business—but this you may expect of me, that in times of difficulty, and circumstances of danger and hazard, I will stand with you in the breach, and share with you in the peril. This, gentlemen, you may expect of me, that my best wishes shall ever be yours, and that my best prayers shall ever be offered up for the success of your holy, your scriptural, your truly righteous and benevolent undertaking.

A vote of thanks to Mr Giles, moved by Councillor J. W. Smith, and seconded by Mr King, was unanimously carried. The Leeds Times from which paper the above is abridged says:—

"We refer with much pleasure to our report of the masterly lecture of the Rev. J. E. Giles, on this subject, given at length in another column. It is powerfully reasoned throughout, and, to our mind, clear as a ray of light. The circumstance of a man of the vigorous and masculine mind of Mr Giles, occupying the influential position in society that he does, coming boldly forward in support of the truth on this question, speaks not less loudly for the moral independence and unflinching honesty of the man than it does for the ultimate success of the cause which he so nobly advocates."

COVENTRY.—An able lecture on complete suffrage was delivered by Mr John Collins of Birmingham, in this city, last Wednesday evening, to an attentive audience. At the conclusion, some interruption was made by a small knot of O'Connorite chartists, who interrogated the lecturer as to his conduct at the last complete suffrage conference. His replies gave evident satisfaction to the meeting generally, as testified by repeated and almost universal applause. The provisional committee lately formed is proceeding energetically, and it has been determined to commence at once canvassing the electors, personally requesting their co-operation; and to lend tracts to such as are not yet convinced of the truth of our principles, changing those tracts from time to time. The friends of the cause are encouraged by the fact, that both the whig and tory local newspapers think it worth while to assail the movement; the whig organ choosing the most unfair and disingenuous weapons.

BRISTOL.—A requisition having been forwarded to Mr H. Berkeley, to attend in his place and give his support to Mr Crawford's motion for leave to bring in a bill to secure the full and fair representation of the people, the hon. gentleman has replied that he will give his support to the motion for leave to bring in the bill, at the same time carefully guarding himself from any pledge to support the details which such bill may contain.—Bath Journal.

DOVER.—PERSONAL EXERTION.—A correspondent informs us that he prepared a requisition to Mr Rice, the member for this borough, requesting him to attend and support Mr Sharman Crawford's motion; and that solely by his own personal exertions he succeeded in procuring eighty-three signatures to the memorial, with the expectation of getting many more. This fact proves that the electoral classes are ripe for the agitation of the question of complete suffrage, and the importance of active personal exertions in its behalf.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE FESTIVAL.—On Monday evening last, a tea party was held in the Exchange hall, Nottingham, for the furtherance of the principles of complete suffrage, and in honour of the 1801 electors who voted for Mr Sturge. Nearly four hundred were present on the occasion, and having partaken of "the cup which cheers, but not inebriates;" upon the motion of Mr W. Taylor, seconded by Mr Alderman Judd, Mr S. Bean was called to the chair. The worthy chairman having expressed the gratification he felt upon presiding over so numerous and respectable an assemblage, called upon Mr Beggs to address the meeting. Mr B. stated that he had been instructed to apply to several gentlemen to attend the meeting, and he would now read their answers. He then read letters from Lord Ranciliffe, Thomas Gisborne, Esq., Sharman Crawford, Esq., Thomas Duncombe, Esq., and Mr Sturge, apologising for their non-attendance. Lord Ranciliffe cordially wished them success, being convinced that no good can be done for the people without universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments! Mr Gisborne said—"With the complete suffragists I am thoroughly united in opinion, and I never have hesitated, nor do I anticipate that I ever shall hesitate, to profess their principles openly on any fitting occasion." The chairman also stated that the Rev. T. Swann of Birmingham, and the Rev. J. P. Mursell of Leicester, would have been present, but unfortunately the letters inviting those gentlemen did not reach them in time. Resolutions expressive of confidence to Mr Sturge, thanks to the 1801 unbought electors, faith in the principles of complete suffrage, and thanks to the electors of Tavistock who supported Mr Vincent, were moved and seconded by Mr Thomas Parkin and Mr Walker, Mr W. Taylor and Mr Hector Christie, Mr Beggs and Mr Harvey of Birmingham, Mr Alderman Frearson and Mr G. Gill. Mr Vincent addressed the meeting in an impassioned and eloquent speech, in which he attributed the distress which is paralysing all classes of society to the people not being represented, argued that they were intitled to complete suffrage, reverted to the pleasing indications of progress, as manifested in the Tavistock election, and called upon his hearers to support the principles of the complete suffrage society. Mr Vincent was repeatedly cheered and sat down amidst loud applause. A vote of thanks having been given to the chairman, the meeting broke up at half-after nine o'clock, it having been previously announced that a news room, in connexion with the Complete Suffrage association, was established at their rooms in Swann's yard, presenting every facility for the accommodation of the reading public.



**BRADFORD.**—A meeting of the Complete Suffrage union of this town was held on Monday night last, at the Odd Fellows' arms, Manchester road. The letters from the borough members in reply to the requisition, calling on them to attend in their places in parliament and support Mr Sharman Crawford's motion, were read, but no discussion followed upon them. It was resolved to continue the canvass of the borough, in order to get up a second requisition, calling on them to attend and support Mr Crawford when his measure comes on a second time on the 30th inst. A committee was appointed to sit every night, and give direction and aid to the parties engaged in the canvass, and thus secure its completeness.—*Bradford Observer.*

**EDINBURGH.**—The general committee of the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage association resolved, at their last meeting, that auxiliary local committees should be formed throughout the various districts of the metropolis. Accordingly, a public meeting was convened of all friendly, for Wednesday, in No. 9 and 10 police districts. Mr Dunlop, president of the city association, after a short but heart-stirring address, showing the propriety of the friends of the principles exerting themselves to diffuse a complete knowledge of complete suffrage principles amongst the electors and others, by conversation, distribution of tracts, and lectures; urged upon the meeting the necessity of a complete and thorough organisation throughout the whole city. The meeting commenced operations by choosing a committee of twenty of the electors present, with power to add to their numbers such of the unenfranchised as were willing to take office at the next meeting. Each committee-man is to be furnished with a book, with the names of the members of the union in his locality, on whom he is to call weekly for subscriptions, and while doing so, to get as many subscribers as possible. Mr Stott was elected preses of the district committee. A secretary and treasurer were also elected, and all cash is to be paid in weekly to the treasurer of the general union. It is expected by this organisation, that on the occurrence of any emergency, the convener will have little trouble in calling upon the committee-men, and they will have little difficulty in warning the members to turn out on any occasion. It is also expected that ere long they will be able to show, by their influence over both local and general elections, that they are not such a diminutive party as many imagine.—*True Scotsman.*

**ABERDEEN.**—On Monday evening last, a meeting of the Complete Suffrage association was held in the hall, Adelphi court, for the purpose of having laid before them Mr Bannerman's answer to the memorial sent to him by 408 of the electors of this city, requesting him to support Mr Sharman Crawford's bill for the extension of the suffrage. Mr John M'Pherson, the president of the association, was in the chair. The chairman, after a few remarks, read Mr Bannerman's reply, which stated that he could not support Mr S. Crawford's motion. It was then moved that the "electors' league" be adopted and carried into practical effect. This after some discussion was agreed to. Another resolution was also passed, expressive of distrust of Mr Bannerman as their representative, and a pledge on the part of the electors to vote for no candidate who did not embrace the principles of complete suffrage.

## General News.

### FOREIGN.

#### FRANCE.

The Paris papers of Thursday bring the termination of the debate in the chamber of Deputies on the preceding day on the proposition of M. Duvergier de Hauranne to abrogate the vote by ballot. The Chamber divided, when there were for the proposition, 193; against it, 201; majority against the motion, 8. Among the warmest supporters and opponents of the proposition were to be found men of all parties. The partisans of ministers were nearly equally divided on the subject, while ministers themselves were far from unanimous.

A petition had been presented to the Chamber, praying that the head of Napoleon might be again placed on the cross of the legion of honour. Ministers did not oppose it, and the course they had adopted in the matter had given satisfaction.

The only other topic of interest upon which the Chamber of Deputies have been engaged was a motion of M. de Sade for limiting the number of public functionaries eligible to sit in the chair. A warm discussion ensued; the only noticeable point of which was the speech of M. de Lamartine, who powerfully advocated the question of electoral reform, recommending it as the only cure for the present bad state of things in the present chamber. He unfolded a somewhat incongruous plan of representation, but which would be a great improvement in the present system, and which provided for the payment of members and no property qualification. M. Duchatel, home minister, opposed M. Sade's motion, and on a division there appeared—for the motion, 181; against it, 207; majority for ministers, 26.

The *Hermine* states that it has reason to know that a merchant vessel, which had just sailed from Nantes for Rio Janeiro, was the bearer of the formal consent of the King of the French to the marriage of his third son, the Prince of Joinville, with the sister of the Emperor of the Brazils.

During many months the crime of murder has been of almost nightly occurrence in Paris and its neighbourhood. The following paragraph, which we copy from the *National*, places the matter in a point of view that cannot surely be overlooked by the authorities:—"The capital has become for some time past the theatre of audacious murders. The Forest of Bondy is more secure than the first city of the

civilised world. On Wednesday night last an unfortunate operative, who was late on his return home, was taken up bathed in blood in the Rue de Bourdonnais, and shortly after expired. Is it possible that the police, with a million of secret service money, cannot at least protect the lives of the citizens?"

According to letters from Pointe-à-Pitre of the 13th ult., the number of persons who perished by the last earthquake at Guadeloupe had been ascertained to amount to between 5,000 and 6,000. Shocks were still occasionally felt.

#### SPAIN.

The *Heraldo*, Madrid opposition paper, of the 18th, publishes its list of the elections, known up to that day. Its calculation is, that 91 ministerialists have been elected, and 90 opposition deputies; 30 elections are void, and 30 are as yet unknown. The opposition journal promises that its party will have the best of the re-elections and the elections yet unknown; but it admits equality in those already decided. The *Heraldo* is one of the most violent organs of opposition; its admission, therefore, is significant, and can mean nothing less than a ministerial majority. On the other hand, the *Presse* publishes a letter from Madrid, which takes for granted that the ministry had been defeated in the elections, and affirms that the Regent had charged General Chacon with the construction of a new cabinet. M. Chacon, the present captain-general of Madrid, is described as a most staunch partisan of French alliance, and would as such compose his administration of men entertaining the same views as he did. The correspondent of the *Presse* does not hesitate to pronounce this step of the Regent, if he actually took it, a *quasi* rupture with England, and an advance made to France.

#### AUSTRIA.

The *Cologne Gazette* states, that the Austrian government, having at last become convinced of the political influence which Prussia has obtained by placing herself at the head of the German Customs union, has resolved to accede to this union as soon as the northern states shall have done so. The *Zollverein* will then be considered to make an integral part of the confederation. The effect of this arrangement can be readily perceived, says the *Gazette*. The questions of the tariff will be decided by the Diet at Frankfurt, the presidency of which belongs to Austria, and the Prussian government, which aspires to the first rank, will be placed in the second by this skilful manœuvre.

#### FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

**PRUSSIA.**—Difficulties continue to grow around the King of Prussia in consequence of his arbitrary conduct. The King, on his accession, aimed at doing something which would satisfy the body of the people, which should be a progress, which should ensure him popularity, and elevate him high enough as a German sovereign, to make the liberals of the south look up to him as a desirable point of unity. In this he has not succeeded, because he did not use the proper means, and he now turns round and complains of the contumacy of "my people." The states of Posen have ventured to remind the King that they had been promised a development of the representative system, and to complain of the rigorous censorship, which is assuredly one of the most glaring badges of national serfdom. He replies by declaring their allusion to past promises "indecorous," and threatening to withdraw favours already accorded! He flatly refuses to make any alteration in the late law of censorship, as requested by them; and this reply, too, is signed by all the ministers. Of the present King of Prussia the *Spectator* says—

"Not many months ago, the King of Prussia was the most popular with his own subjects of the kings of Europe: at present, the popularity even of Louis Philippe is scarcely at a lower ebb. The change is owing to himself; and, what renders it more dangerous, to a defect in his character. He is benevolent in the highest degree; and to seek to be loved is a necessity of his nature—a passion effeminate in its excess. He is deficient in judgment to estimate the state of society in Prussia, and his own position in it; he is deficient in magnanimity—he cannot buoy himself up on the consciousness of having acted for the best, and patiently wait for the time when his merits will be acknowledged; his passionate desire of popularity is a blind instinct, and becomes anger if not immediately gratified. It is out of such materials that both political and domestic tyrants are often formed. This weakness of the King exposes him to the risk of being, with the best intentions in the world, made a tool in the hands of the old privileged aristocracy; who cannot or will not see the necessity of submitting to the new order of things in Prussia."

**TURKEY.**—Private letters from Constantinople of the 7th instant state, that measures for the reform of the internal administration of the empire were then under consideration before the Cabinet, which had hitherto been opposed to every species of innovation. It was likewise contemplated to promote, by all possible means, the development of the agricultural and commercial interests of the country, to disband a portion of the rediffr or militia, and reduce the complement of the navy.

**CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.**—Advices have been received from the Cape of Good Hope to the 23rd of January inclusive. The accounts regarding the insurgent Boers are very conflicting. Some are to the effect that no resistance will be made, others exactly the reverse. A messenger from Philopolis, who arrived at Graham's Town on the 31st of December, brought information that the Boers were assembling in that neighbourhood in force, and that if the troops should attempt to cross the Orange river, their passage would be disputed. The latest accounts state positively that Colonel Hare had determined to cross the Orange river. The Kaffirs are said to be anxiously watching the movements of the authorities as regards the disaffected farmers, and only waiting the result to decide upon their own measures. Marauders were lurking on every part of the colonial border, and carrying off cattle. Apprehension had been en-

tained that the Kaffir chiefs had organised an extensive combination of their tribes to attack the colony, but it seems to have been postponed or abandoned, if, indeed, it had ever been seriously entertained, which is doubtful.

The *Jamaica Morning Journal* of 17th February, reports an interesting expedition:—"The first attempt to civilise Africa, by sending persons from this island to teach them the arts of civilised life, was made on the 8th instant; on the morning of which day, the brigantine Joseph Anderson, Honan master, sailed from Port Royal, with the Rev. Messrs Riis, Wildman, and Thompson, the last of whom is a black gentleman, with Mrs Riis and Mrs Thompson and a company consisting of twenty-four Christian negroes. The destination of these missionaries and people is the kingdom of Ashantee, on the western coast of Africa."

Another German railroad, that from Magd<sup>burg</sup> to Halberstadt, is to be opened in its full extent on the 15th of July next. This will be of the greatest convenience to English tourists.

It is in contemplation to establish a Belgian colony in the Sandwich islands, and the Belgian Colonization company of St Thomas is in negotiation with the King of these islands.

## DOMESTIC.

### METROPOLITAN.

A second crowded meeting of the Anti-corn-law League was held in Drury lane theatre, on Wednesday night. The speakers were Mr C. P. Villiers, M.P., Mr J. T. Leader, M.P., Mr Christie, M.P., and Mr Moore. The only noticeable feature was the frank confession of Mr Leader of the little hope of wresting anything from the House of Commons as at present constituted, and advice given by him that the League should make common cause with the working classes.

**CRIMINAL LUNATICS.**—At a meeting of the governors of Bethlehem hospital, it was agreed that when visitors went through the wards, &c., the attendants be ordered not to mention the name of any patient, even if required to do so by the visitor. All the criminal lunatics are dressed alike, and no distinction is allowed to be made in the treatment of any of them.

**THE TEMPERANCE INSURANCE COMPANY.**—Our advertising columns of this week contain the preliminary prospectus of a Temperance and General Marine Insurance company just established in the metropolis. The application of the "temperance" principle, or system rather, to navigation is not new in this country, although hitherto it has been undertaken only on a private scale. It is now for the first time launched in the shape of a public and metropolitan company prepared to work it out to all its salutary ends, and to test its merits as a means of remunerating profit for the safe employment of capital, no less than of the moral improvement which, according to general and admitted acceptation, it is destined to work out—which it has worked out already in England and America so far as it has been applied. The present Temperance association for underwriting is professedly founded on the report of the House of Commons committee on shipwrecks. In much of the evidence of practical persons before that committee it is estimated that to intemperance, to the use and abuse of ardent spirits, fifty per cent. of the aggregate cause and loss by shipwreck may be attributed; by some witnesses nine-tenths of the shipwrecks which occur are so charged. In the summary of conclusions upon the evidence so adduced the committee report—

"That the practice of taking large quantities of ardent spirits as part of the stores of ships, whether in the navy or in the merchant service, and the habitual use of such spirits, even when diluted with water, and in what is ordinarily considered the moderate quantity served to each man at sea, is itself a frequent cause of the loss of ships and crews; ships frequently taking fire from the drawing off of spirits, which are always kept under hold; crews getting access to the spirit casks, and frequently becoming intoxicated; and almost all the cases of insubordination, insolence, disobedience to orders, and refusal to do duty, as well as the confinements and punishments enforced as corrections, both of which must for the time greatly lessen the efficiency of the crews, being clearly traceable to the intoxicating influence of the spirits used by the officers and men."

The report goes on to state—

"That the happiest effects have resulted from the experiments tried in the American navy and merchant service, to do without spirituous liquors as an habitual article of daily use; there being at present more than 1,000 sail of American vessels traversing all the seas of the world, in every climate, without the use of spirits by their officers or crews; and, being in consequence of this change, in so much greater a state of efficiency and safety than other vessels not adopting this regulation, that the public insurance companies in America make a return of five per cent. of the premium of insurance on vessels completing their voyages without the use of spirits; while the examples of British ships sending from Liverpool on the same plan have been productive of the greatest benefit to the shipowners, underwriters, merchants, officers, and crews."

Upon this principle of the American insurance companies the present Temperance Insurance Company is founded, with apparently fair prospects of proving a beneficial undertaking both to the proprietors and the public.

**CHORAL MEETING OF THE SINGING CLASSES.**—Wednesday evening the first choral meeting, for the season, of Mr Hullah's pupils of the upper, or more advanced singing classes took place at Exeter hall. The singers occupied the whole body of the hall, and the audience was placed in the orchestra; the more distinguished portion on the platform in front, and the rest on each side of the organ. Looking down from that position the *coup d'œil* was very striking. The central part of the hall was completely filled with the female choristers, whose gay and variegated dresses made it look like a flower garden. On each side and behind, were the darker masses of the tenors and basses. The number of the whole was said to amount to 1,500. The music was of a higher and more difficult character than that which was performed last



year. It was divided into two parts, the first consisting of sacred, the other of secular music. Among the secular music there was Purcell's "Britons strike home," entirely deprived of its martial character by the change of words and of the time; and a semi-chorus, "Daybreak," by Moscheles, complicated in its structure, and full of modulation; its nice points and imitations were taken up with tolerable clearness, and displayed more of *la difficile vaincue* than anything else that was done. The singing was very superior to that of last year, and showed a satisfactory progress. On the whole, the performance, in a moral as well as musical view, was very interesting.

**OPENING OF THE THAMES TUNNEL.**—The ceremony of throwing open this "great bore" to the public was performed on Saturday last under favour of good-natured old Father Thames. The grand rendezvous was the Rotherhithe shaft on the Surrey side of the river, where two marquees had been erected, one for the accommodation of the directors and proprietors with their friends, and the other for the reception of visitors. At four o'clock the sound of a gun announced that the ceremony had begun; and the procession started from the grander marquee down the staircase in the following order:—First came a very effective band, belonging, we believe, to the fusilier guards, then followed the standard-bearer, and persons carrying various flags and banners, the clerk, the solicitor, the acting engineer, the surveyor, the chief engineer, the chairman of the board of directors, the directors, the treasurer, the auditors, the proprietors, and, lastly, the visitors, an immense number of persons, including ladies. The route taken was along the western archway of the tunnel, and on arriving at the shaft at Wapping, that was ascended and paraded, and then the procession returned by the eastern archway to Rotherhithe. The majority of the visitors went the whole distance, 1,200 feet; many, however, proceeded only a little way, pausing and looking about with an air of suspicion every four or five yards, while some would not venture into the tunnel at all, but remained in the shaft or on the staircase. Amongst the visitors to the tunnel were the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Dudley Stuart, Sir R. Inglis, Sir E. Codrington, Sir W. Clay, the Hon. Mr Byng, the Lord Mayor, Mr Hume, M.P., Mr Roebuck, M.P., Mr Hawes, M.P., Mr Warburton, Mr Rennie, Mr Babbage, Dr Wollaston, Dr Farraday, Mr Maudslay, Mr Field, and other scientific persons. In the evening the directors entertained their friends at the London tavern, and upwards of 100 guests sat down to a dinner which was served up in a style that did credit to the establishment. Mr Hawes, senior (chairman of the board of directors), presided. The tunnel will now be opened as a thoroughfare for foot-passengers at a penny toll. There is a carriage-way, but the approaches to it are not yet made, and until the excavations are effected for forming an inclined plane at each end, it cannot be considered a complete "bore."

The number of persons who, up to Monday night, visited the Thames tunnel since six o'clock on Saturday night was about 50,000. The admission money being a penny each, the sum thus realised would be about £208.

**PROGRESSIVE RISE OF THE RIVER THAMES.**—A paper was read at the last meeting of the Geographical society (Sir C. Malcolm in the chair), by Mr Higgs, "On the progressive rise of the river Thames," as indicated by the necessity for constantly increasing the height of the Thames marsh walls, and the facts of old causeways, &c., found below the present level of high water in the river, and by other collateral evidence.

**STREET SWEEPING BY MACHINERY.**—On Wednesday, the first exhibition in the metropolis of the self-loading cart, or street-sweeping machine, which has for some time been in use in Manchester, took place on the wood pavement in Regent street, and attracted during the day large crowds of persons to view its very novel apparatus. The machine, which has been brought up from Manchester under an arrangement with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and under whose auspices the experiment was made, commenced its operations at about six o'clock in the morning, and continued them without intermission during the greater portion of the day. Proceeding at a moderate rate through Regent street, the cart left behind it a well-swept tract, which formed a striking contrast with the adjacent ground. It filled itself in the space of six minutes, its power being equal to that of 40 men, and its operation being of a threefold nature—that of sweeping, loading, and carrying, at the same time; which under the old process formed three distinct operations. The streets of Manchester are now regularly swept by the machine, the result of which is that the sanitary condition of the population is improved; and the town has now almost lost its character for mud and filth.—*Standard*.

**REMOVAL OF DR BAILEY FROM NEWGATE.**—On Tuesday week, the Rev. Dr Bailey, who was convicted of forgery, and sentenced to be transported for fifteen years, was removed from Newgate to Woolwich, previous to leaving this country. According to his appearance there seems very little likelihood of his living the voyage. He seemed dreadfully depressed, and evidently felt his degrading situation.

**MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT.**—Early on Saturday morning, as a very heavily laden van, from the railway terminus in Euston square, was passing through Ray street, Clerkenwell, one of the hind wheels came off, and the carriage was immediately upset, falling on a poor old man who obtained a living by vending water-cresses, and literally crushing him to pieces. The driver himself had a narrow escape, and the shaft horse was thrown down and very seriously injured.

**EXTRAORDINARY CHARGE OF MURDERS.**—On the Lord Mayor taking his seat on Thursday, a young

woman, named Sarah Dazley, was placed at the bar. From the statement of Inspector Blunden, of the rural police, at Biggleswade, it appears that the accused has resided for some length of time at Wrestlingworth, a small village about six miles from the former place, and was about to be married last week to her third husband, a young man named George Waldoock—the banns having been already twice published in the parish church. In consequence, however, of an observation made by some person to Waldoock, to the effect that the accused had already poisoned two husbands, and would, very probably, serve him in a similar manner, the young man demurred, and sought an interview with the clergyman of the village, to whom he communicated the circumstance. The matter soon got wind, and coming to the knowledge of the authorities, it was determined to disinter the body of the last husband, who died in October, 1842, and subject the remains to a medical examination. Finding this, the woman Dazley absconded from Wrestlingworth, as it was supposed, for London, whither, by direction of the coroner, Inspector Blunden followed her, and succeeded in effecting her capture. A *post mortem* examination of the body had been made, and, in a letter received this morning, it was stated that large quantities of arsenic had been discovered in the deceased's stomach. It was further suspected that the accused had been concerned in the death of her first husband, and also a child whom she had by him. The object was to convey the accused back to Wrestlingworth, at which place the adjourned inquiry would take place. The prisoner, who throughout the proceedings maintained the utmost indifference, was then removed from the bar, to be conveyed to Biggleswade.

**HORRIBLE SUICIDE.**—On Saturday morning a man named Barr, of New street, Bethnal green, destroyed himself at the Wick bridge, Homerton, under the following circumstances. It appears that some weeks ago he breakfasted at a coffee shop in Wick lane, and left a gun in the care of the landlady. On Saturday morning, at eight o'clock, he fetched away the gun, remarking that he hoped to have some sport. Soon after a stifled report was heard from the marshes, and within ten minutes a bargeman found deceased partly on the path, the upper part of his person being in the river. It is conjectured that the deceased must have placed his back against the bridge arch, and fixed the gun under his chin, as some fragments of the skull were found near the top of the bridge, and, after the discharge, to have fallen into the water. The body was conveyed to the workhouse. The wretched man, who is said to have been in a desponding state for some time past, owing to want of employment, has left a widow and seven children.

#### PROVINCIAL.

**CAMBRIDGE ELECTION.**—The following account of the bribery practised to secure the return of the tory candidate is given in a private letter:—

"A large house, which was untenanted, was taken by them in the centre of Barnwell, and was crowded the whole of Sunday, and of course the whole of Sunday night. Many who call themselves respectable Tories were there the whole night, selling the birth-right of their fellow townsmen. Mr Foster's majority at the poll was about fifty all the day, until three o'clock, when all those notorious voters who were known to hold back for bribes came up in shoals, and it is a fair calculation that at least two hundred were purchased by some means. It is said that during the last hour 30% and 40% was paid for a vote. Then, the intimidation from the University was greater than ever. Even the masters and tutors of colleges openly went to voters' houses and threatened them. And these are the means sanctioned and approved in this seminary of sound learning and religious education! This is the way these profound ministers of the gospel desire to see members of parliament returned!"

**BROUGHAM HALL.**—A gentleman of the name of Bird, who claims to be a descendant of the owners of Brougham hall and the annexed estates, has come forward to dispute the ownership with the noble lord, and on Tuesday last proceeded with an appraiser to take a schedule of the goods of one of the tenants.—*Kendal Mercury*.

**STATE OF TRADE IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.**—The trade reports show that a large and increasing business is now doing, especially in the cotton districts. Our private information confirms the public intelligence of the marked revival of manufacturing industry. The spinners have seldom been busier than they are at the present moment. Buying the raw material at an unprecedentedly low price, they are obtaining comparatively high prices for their goods and yarns. And not only is the business now transacting extensive; it is likewise safe, the bulk of the transactions being based, not on credit, but on capital, and the result of actual demand, and not of speculation. This altered and gratifying state of things will, there is every reason to believe, continue, and render the year 1843, so far as trade is concerned, a striking contrast to too many of its predecessors.—*Liverpool Albion*.

**A FEARFUL PICTURE.**—Our Leeds correspondent sends us the following brief statement:—"Last week the Leeds Benevolent society relieved with soup and potatoe tickets, 2,619 families. These families, consisting of upwards of 10,000 persons, were found to be subsisting on incomes, averaging in the various districts from 5d. to 1s. 2d. a head per week. Such is the state of the working population at Leeds."—*Bradford Observer*.

**ACCIDENT AT LEWES.**—On Sunday night great excitement and alarm were created amongst the inhabitants by a sudden shock, as if of a subterranean nature. The night was still and clear, and the streets unoccupied, when a rumbling noise, as if of a heavily laden waggon rapidly rolling along, was heard, followed immediately by a tremendous crash and

clouds of dust. The catastrophe had been occasioned by the fall of a portion of the castle bank or wall, some forty feet high, which in its descent completely crushed a stable belonging to Mr Kell, wherein were lodged a pony and two cows. The quantity of rubbish that fell is calculated at seven hundred tons. The pony and cows were crushed to death.—*Brighton Gazette*.

#### ASSIZE INTELLIGENCE.

At Carlisle, the *Cumberland Pacquet* has been convicted of publishing a gross libel on the Rev. Mr Bilson, a baptist minister, in the form of a letter signed "A Wesleyan," with an editorial "note" attached. The libel termed Mr Bilson a "scoundrel," and accused him of entrapping "an old weak-minded woman" into joining his congregation, and "defrauding" her out of 50l. The charge was clothed throughout in a coarse and libelous language. Damages, 100l.

At Derby, on Saturday, an action was tried to recover a pianoforte. The plaintiff, Mr Swindell, a commission agent at Islington, had courted a young lady named Antill, at Spondon, Derbyshire, but she fell into a consumption, and died in 1840. In 1842 he married her widowed mother! a lady of 60—nearly three times his own age. After this marriage, the "bride" removed with her young husband to Islington; and her son, the defendant, remained in possession of the house at Spondon. Among the furniture was a piano that had belonged to Miss Antill, the "intended" of the plaintiff; and he and his new-married old lady wished to have it, as a memorial of the departed! The defendant, knowing that the deceased wished a nephew to have it, refused to deliver it up, and an action was brought to recover possession. Baron Gurney directed a nonsuit, observing, that as the plaintiff had secured the old lady, he might do very well without the piano.

At York assizes, on Monday, Felix Booth was tried on an indictment for felony, in having preferred a foul charge against Sir Felix Booth, with a view to extort money. The prisoner was the cousin and godson of the prosecutor; from whom he had received a series of benefits. The defence was, that the prisoner believed himself to have a *bona fide* claim on his cousin, and that the letters urged that claim, but did not present the alternative of paying a sum of money to quash the charge; therefore it was not an indictable offence. The objection was set aside; and the jury returned a verdict of "Guilty." On Thursday, he was sentenced to twenty years transportation.

At Stafford, on Saturday, before Mr Justice Wightman, Henry William Grove was convicted of an unprecedented libel. The defendant had circulated anonymous letters charging himself and a Mr Alcock, of Burslem, with unnatural crime. His object was, to bring himself and Mr Alcock together by a fellow-feeling, and, by means of that gentleman's wealth and station, to advance his own interests. The plot partially succeeded, but detection ensued, and then disgrace. The defendant had been employed as a lay assistant to the Pastoral Aid society, and was very ambitious of rising in the church. His friends endeavoured to show that he had always been silly and cracked—in which they were very successful. Finding him unfit for anything else, they had paid the church the compliment of foisting him into the clerical profession! The jury convicted him under the indictment, and he was sentenced to be imprisoned for twelve months.

At the same assizes, the indictment against Cooper, the Leicester chartist, John Richards, a shoemaker, and Joseph Capper, a blacksmith, in the Potteries, for conspiracy and sedition during the disturbances in the Potteries in August last, was taken on Monday. Mr Serjeant Talfourd, Mr Richards, Mr Godson, and Mr Alexander, appeared for the Crown. The defendants were without counsel, Mr Lee, it was understood, declining to act as Cooper's advocate on merely legal points, as he did at the special commission. The witnesses on behalf of the Crown are, it is stated, 35 in number. Of these only three were examined on Monday, one of whom Cooper kept no less than five hours and a half under cross-examination. On Tuesday the examination and cross-examination of the first witness called occupied considerably more than half the day. The case for the prosecution closed on Saturday, when Cooper said that he should, in the defence, produce evidence that would convict the Anti-corn-law League of having caused the riots in the Potteries. Cooper's address is expected to last till Tuesday, and he states his intention of bringing forward 116 witnesses on his own behalf.

At the Derby assizes, John West, aged 25, was indicted for having, at Swadlincole, on the 18th of September last, wickedly, maliciously, and seditiously uttered certain words concerning our sovereign lady the Queen. Mr Waddington stated that the prosecution had been instituted by the magistrates of the district in which the alleged offence was committed.

The prisoner was charged with having, on Sunday the 18th of September last, uttered, in the presence of a number of persons, a discourse of an inflammatory and seditious character. In the progress of his discourse he had uttered these words:—"We are told to unite together to oppose the abominable laws which stop our rights by class legislation." "We must be alive and active, for as long as we sleep quiet we shall not get our rights from the aristocracy." "We must combine together to open the locks of the prison doors, and liberate those of our brethren who are confined for asking for our rights." "We have no right to be content with the abominable laws which are entailed upon us." These were the words used; no one could mistake their tendency; and it would be for the prisoner to explain them away if he could. The meeting commenced by singing a hymn, after which the prisoner took his text from the first chapter of 2nd of Peter, the fourth and three following verses. He spoke for an hour and a half, during which he uttered the expressions for which he had been indicted. Witnesses were then called to speak to the facts. It



appeared that the prisoner had spoken of moral duty, temperance, and godliness, and had referred to the 42nd of Isaiah, 7th verse, when he alluded to opening the prison doors. He implored a blessing upon her Majesty, and the rulers of the land. Mr West addressed the jury. Mr Baron Alderson said the only question was, whether the fair and reasonable inference to be drawn from the words was such as had been drawn from them in support of the prosecution. The difficulty was, that they did not know the context. He would say then, as he had said before, when trying a person of the name of Vincent, that nothing was more unfair than to take detached portions of a discourse. They would take all the circumstances of the case into consideration, and act accordingly. The jury acquitted the prisoner, his lordship remarking it was a very proper verdict.

At the same assizes, William Wildgoose and fourteen others, chartists, were charged with assembling together to turn out workmen. They pleaded guilty, and were ordered to enter into their own recognisances in the sum of £100 to keep the peace. The learned baron told them they had been in great jeopardy, as the offences with which they were charged were serious. It would be as well, perhaps, if they were to know what their rights upon the subject for which they were indicted were, and what they were not. They had a right to meet and agree together as to the wages they should demand from their employers; but no right to compel others to the same course. The freedom they claimed for themselves they were bound to allow to others.

**SENTENCE OF DEATH.**—At Derby, on Monday, three men named Bonsall, Bland, and Hulme, were tried before Mr Baron Gurney, charged with the murder of Martha Goddard, an aged maiden lady, who resided with her sister at Stanley hall, under circumstances of great atrocity. The deceased and her sister were ladies of very eccentric character, living in separate rooms, taking their meals separately, and seldom even speaking to each other. The deceased was killed by blows from a crowbar, whilst in bed. The particulars of this shocking murder were published shortly after the event. The prisoners were all found guilty, and the learned judge having passed upon them the awful sentence of death, left them for execution, which is fixed to take place on Friday next.

**EXECUTION AT LINCOLN.**—On Friday last Thomas Johnson, aged twenty-eight, suffered the extreme penalty of the law on the new drop at Lincoln castle. The culprit had been found guilty of the murder of Elizabeth Evison, an aged woman, residing at Croft. The concourse of spectators to witness his awful end could not have been less than 8,000.—*Doncaster Gazette.*

**CONTEMPT.**—An amusing incident occurred on Monday last, in the assize court at Taunton, which even affected the gravity of the bench. Mr Stone, who defended Parsons, charged with murder, in the course of a powerful address to the jury implored them to give the prisoner the benefit of any doubt they might have on their minds. The prisoner, he said, stood before them in an agony of suspense, charged with the highest offence known to the law. While urging this appeal to their mercy, the learned counsel turned half round to the prisoner, expecting to see the agony which he was so busily portraying, when lo! he saw his protégé busily engaged in munching a sandwich. For a moment the learned advocate was taken aback, and Mr Justice Cresswell, who caught his eye at the moment, could scarcely forbear a smile. Happily for the accused, the defence made for him was too strong to be affected by the *contempt*, and the jury seconded his effort at "trying to live" by acquitting him. This man appears to have been the hero of a different scene, though of another kind, as will appear from the following extract from the *Bristol Journal*:—"The city of Bath was this morning in a state of alarming riot at half-past twelve o'clock, in consequence, we understand, of the acquittal of Parsons, lately tried on the charge of having killed his wife, at that city. On his arriving there after the trial, he was followed by the execrations of the populace, in number about 2,000, to his house, whence he was forcibly dragged out, and we are informed nearly killed before the police could succeed in extricating him. The ringleaders in this imitation of Lynch law are in custody."

#### IRELAND.

**THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO IRELAND.**—It is announced that the Queen has fixed the month of August for the royal visit to this country. The *Dublin Evening Post* of Saturday states that considerable alterations and improvements have been for some time going on at the Vice Regal lodge in the Phoenix park, for the reception of her Majesty and her illustrious consort.

**RESISTANCE TO THE POOR RATES.**—The letters from Waterford state that tranquillity was completely established—that the army and police brought in from adjoining districts had returned, and that Dr Fitzgerald, the stipendiary magistrate, was about to return to Dungarvon, where symptoms of resistance to the poor rate had appeared. The *Waterford Chronicle* attributes the cessation of opposition in the barony of Gaultier to the fact, that several of the landlords had come forward to pay the rate in advance for their cottier tenantry.

**TEMPERANCE IN IRELAND.**—The savings banks business is increasing so rapidly in Dublin, that it bids fair to become most unwieldy. The lodgments in 12th month (December) last, exceeded the withdrawals by £1,000; an unprecedented and remarkable occurrence, from the fact that the numerous mortality and benefit societies withdraw their balances, which have accumulated for the year, at that time. Many of the victualers tell a "good tale" under the head of home consumption also, while some of the

large Irish distilleries are untenanted except by vermin. Perhaps the most cheering indication of all the onward movement is, the thirst of the people for information. Weekly meetings at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, held alternately for the discussion of anti-slavery, peace, the claims of British India, and temperance, continue to be largely attended; while a band of gratuitous scientific lecturers from amongst the working classes is rapidly springing up, and addressing large audiences weekly at the different temperance halls.

**EARTHQUAKE IN IRELAND.**—The earthquake which was felt in Liverpool and its vicinity on Friday morning last was perceptible at a considerable distance; and, among other places, was distinctly felt in Belfast and its neighbourhood. The agitation was very perceptible. One gentleman with whom we have spoken had just gone to bed, and upon observing the agitation, his reflexion was, that "If he were in a country which was visited by earthquakes, he would say that that was one." Another gentleman got out of bed, supposing that robbers had entered the house. Another rose and examined his room, fearing lest plunderers had made their way into it. Several other cases of a like kind have been mentioned to us. In Holywood, and the neighbourhood of Killaleagh, we understand that the shocks were felt. Captain Head, of the Reindeer steamer, from Belfast to Liverpool, experienced on that night a most unusually rough sea, though the weather was calm.—*Northern Whig.*

**HORRIBLE OCCURRENCE.**—On the morning of Friday week, at Mullahead, near Tandragee, a woman named Jones left her house for a few minutes, her two children being amusing themselves in the kitchen. On her return, she lifted off the fire a pot of boiling water, and poured it into a churn; but found, to her horror, that she had scalded one of her children in a shocking manner—the little creature having but a minute before concealed itself in the vessel, while playing hide-and-seek with its companion. Irritated at the stupidity of her other child for not warning her in time to prevent the accident, the woman, in the madness of her rage, seized a stool, and struck the infant so violent a blow as to fracture its skull; and then rushed from the house, since which time she has not been heard of. It is feared that she has committed suicide. Both of the ill-fated children, we understand, have died.—*Banner of Ulster.*

#### SCOTLAND.

**ANSTRUTHER.—MELANCHOLY OCCURRENCE.**—The small boat which conveys passengers to and from steamers passing this place, in returning from the Benledi steamer on Monday forenoon, was unfortunately swamped, and carried by the breakers on a ridge of rocks, called the Gats, not far from the mouth of the harbour. The crew, five in number, were (with the exception of one who clung to the wreck) washed off by the heavy seas. It being low water at the time the accident occurred, a considerable time elapsed ere boats could be dragged to the water and put off to their assistance. This was, however, accomplished with all possible promptitude, and they succeeded in picking up all the crew. Medical aid was quickly procured, but we are sorry to say without the effect of restoring animation to two of the unfortunate crew, life having been extinct before they were picked up; they have left widows and children to lament their loss. We are happy to state that the other three have recovered.—*Fife Herald.*

**THE EARTHQUAKE IN DUMFRIES.**—A slight shock of an earthquake was distinctly felt by a number of individuals in this town, on the morning of Friday last, about one o'clock. Many were awakened by their beds shaking, and started up in alarm; and, in several instances, members of the same household encountered one another, each bent on ascertaining the cause of disturbance. One individual, who was sitting alone, felt as if his chair was rising and falling on the floor, and started up, exclaiming, "What is that?" Many of those who were aroused from their sleep by the shock got up, under the impression that some robbers had entered their houses. We learn that the shock was felt at some distance from this town, as at Newabbey and Kirkbean; and we shall probably hear of many more instances of its unwelcome visitation. We understand that, with the exception of a slight vibration along the range of the Tinwald hills about twelve years ago, no quake has been felt in this locality for upwards of sixty years.—*Dumfries Courier.*

#### Religious Intelligence.

**SUSSEX HOME MISSION.**—The ministers and deputies of the independent churches of Western Sussex assembled in Chichester, on Tuesday (14th inst.), for the purpose of forming a Home Missionary society, for the Western division of the county, in connexion with the General Sussex Home Mission. A meeting for business was held in the morning, at ten o'clock, at which the Rev. J. N. Goulty, of Brighton, the general secretary, presided. Rules for the proposed society were drawn up, in order to be submitted to a public meeting. At six in the evening, a public meeting was held in St Martin's square chapel, when the society was formed, under favourable auspices. The Rev. John Wiseman, A.M., of Arundel, was appointed secretary, and Charles New, Esq., treasurer to the association. The chair was occupied by the Rev. J. Benson, A.M., and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Wiseman of Arundel, Edmunds of Petworth, Edwin of Midhurst, Morgan of Haslemere, Cane of Bognor, Sainsbury of Bosham, Goulty of Brighton, Malden of Chichester, and also by Messrs. Irving, Allen, Pullinger, and Orchard, of Chichester. On the evening preceding the meeting,

the friends of St Martin's square chapel held a public tea party, at which the Rev. J. Benson, A.M., presided. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. Messrs. Wiseman, Morgan, Cane, Edwin (Baptist), Oyston (Wesleyan of Chichester), and others. The profits arising from the sale of tickets of admission amounted to £8.

#### MARRIAGES.

March 22, at St Martin's church, Mr WILLIAM JACKSON, of Goswell road, to GEORGINA, eldest daughter of the late Charles BUCHAN, Esq., of Meadow place, Edinburgh.

March 21, at Counterslip chapel, Bristol, by the Rev. Thomas Winter, Mr JOSEPH CHANDLER, stationer, of Castle street, Bristol, to Miss ELIZA ANN CLEMENT, daughter of the late Mr Francis Clement, of Hackney.

#### DEATHS.

March 19, at Selby, universally respected, in his 58th year, WILLIAM MASSEY, Esq., of that place. Mr Massey was a most steady friend to the cause of popular education, and was personally identified with the establishing, 41 years ago, of the first Sunday school in Selby.

Same day, at Harwich, aged 86, MARY, the beloved wife of C. CLARKE, Esq.

March 15, in her 94th year, at Croydon, where she had lived much respected for many years, SUSANNA VAUX, member of the Society of Friends.

March 17, at Trowbridge, Wilts, Mr RICHARD WEARING, aged 61 years, highly respected and most sincerely lamented, particularly by the baptist church, Back street, of which he was a deacon, and for many years an exemplary superintendent of the Sabbath school.

March 18, the Rev. THOMAS JACKSON, for 43 years minister of the new chapel, Stockwell.

March 20, at the house of Mr George Graves, farmer, Northwold, the Rev. JESSE HEWETT, aged 31, late one of the pastors of the baptist church, Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, and the oldest surviving son of Mr John Hewett, baptist minister, Swaffham, Norfolk.

March 21, at Keswick, ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., L.L.D., Poet Laureate.

March 23, in his 28th year, EBENEZER JONES, the youngest son of the late Rev. J. Jones, independent minister of Bethama chapel, Brecknockshire. It might be said of him that he was beloved in life, and lamented in death.

#### Trade and Commerce.

##### LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, March 28.

##### BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

NEWTON, GILES JAMES, Leicester square, draper.

##### BANKRUPTS.

ANDERSON, JOHN, Aigburth, Lancashire, plumber, April 6, 28: solicitors, Messrs Aveson and Pritt, Liverpool, and Messrs Chester and Toulmin, Staple inn, London.

CHARD, JAMES, late of Taunton, but now of Bristol, corn factor, April 11, May 9: solicitors, Mr J. F. Church, Bedford row, London, and Messrs Dommett and Adney, Chard, Somerset.

DANKS, SAMUEL, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, screw manufacturer, April 7, 25: solicitor, Mr S. Danks, Birmingham.

FLETCHER, THOMAS, Loscoe, Derbyshire, grocer, April 8, 29: solicitor, Mr Jessop, Alfreton.

GIBBS, JAMES, 42, Jernyn street, Westminster, scrivener, April 8, May 5: solicitor, Mr Savage, 8, Henrietta street, Covent garden.

HAWDON, JOHN CROSSIER, Three Nuns court, Aldermanbury, City, and Canonbury villas, Islington, commission agent, April 7, May 5: solicitor, Mr Fisher, 4, Serjeants' inn, Temple.

HAWKINS, THOMAS, St John street, Smithfield, carrier, April 4, May 1: solicitor, Mr Nicoll, Middle Temple lane.

HESLOP, JOHN, Morpeth, Northumberland, grocer, April 8, May 15: solicitors, Messrs Crosby and Compton, Church street, Old Jewry, London, and Mr Charlton, Morpeth.

KIRBY, JOHN, of the Rising Sun, Brooksby street, Islington, victualler, April 4, May 5: solicitor, Mr Cox, Sise lane.

LUCKY, JOHN, jun., Liverpool, tailor, April 7, May 5: solicitors, Messrs Francis and Dodge, Liverpool.

MEADOWS, JAMES, Wavertree, near Liverpool, miller, April 13, May 2: solicitors, Mr Booker, Liverpool, and Messrs Holme and Co., New inn, London.

TUCKER, SAMUEL, Exeter, carrier, April 6, May 4: solicitors, Messrs Terrell and Roberts, Exeter.

TURNER, EDWARD, Canterbury, porter and ale merchant, April 4, May 5: solicitors, Messrs Barron and Cullen, Bloomsbury square.

##### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ALLAN, WILLIAM, Rutherglen, victualler, March 27, April 17.

M'RAE, KENNETH and DONALD, Inverness, drapers, March 30, April 20.

WEBSTER, JAMES, Cupar, banker, March 31, April 28.

Tuesday, March 28.

##### BANKRUPTS.

BLACKBURN, RICHARD, and BLACKBURN, JOHN, now or late of Morley, Yorkshire, cloth manufacturers, April 8, May 2: solicitor, Mr Blackburn, Leeds.

BOWMAN, JONATHAN, Carlisle, Cumberland, woollen draper, April 10, May 16: solicitors, Mr Lloyd, Cheapside, London, and Mr Philipson, Newcastle.

CONNIBERRE, ROBERT, and BUTLER, EDWARD, jun., Birmingham, woollen drapers, April 11, 26: solicitors, Mr Samuel Fisher, Bucklersbury, London, and Messrs Tyndall and Son, Birmingham.

DUFFIELD, JAMES, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, druggist, April 7, May 8: solicitors, Messrs Winterbotham and Thomas, Tewkesbury.

FLETCHER, JOHN, Maryport, Cumberland, boiler manufacturer, April 12, May 15: solicitors, Mr Henry O. Huthwaite, Maryport, and Messrs Taylor and Collinson, Great James street, Bedford row, London.

GILBY, CHARLES, Greenwhich, Kent, wine merchant, April 7, May 9: solicitor, Mr Harpur, Kennington cross, Surrey.

GLOVER, JOHN HERBERT, 194, Bermondsey street, Surrey, oilman, April 6, May 9: solicitor, Mr Woollen, 30, Bucklersbury, City.

HENDERSON, JOHN, Greenside, Durham, wood merchant, April 24, May 22: solicitors, Messrs Crosby and Crompton, 3, Church court, Old Jewry, London, and Mr Hoyle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

PERKINS, EDWARD, late of Bishopsgate street Without, City, but now of Bridport place, Hoxton, corn dealer, April 4, May 2: solicitor, Mr Ashley, Shoreditch.

PLEASANCE, JOHN, Wath-upon-Dearne, Yorkshire, mason, April 7, May 8: solicitors, Mr Luke Palfreyman, Sheffield, and Mr John Blackburn, Leeds.

PYM, JOSEPH, jun., Belper, Derbyshire, cabinet maker, April 11, May 3: solicitor, Mr Thomas Ingle, Belper.

ROWLEY, THOMAS EDWARD, 261, Oxford street, draper, April 4, May 9: solicitor, Mr Thomas Parker, St Paul's church yard.

SEARY, MAURICE, Swindon, Flintshire, draper, April 11, May 8, solicitors, Messrs Roberts, London, and Mr Flintshire, and Messrs Milne and Co., Tottenham.

THOMAS, STEPHEN, formerly of York, victualler, April 7, May 5: solicitors, Messrs R. E. and C. Smithson, York, and Mr Bulmer, Leeds.

TEAGUE, SAMUEL, late of Birmingham, builder, April 10, May 6: solicitors, Messrs A. and T. S. Ryland, Birmingham.

TATTERSALL, JOHN, now or late of Old Lyons, Lancashire, coal dealer, April 12, May 4: solicitors, Messrs Johnson, Son, and Wetherall, 7, King's Bench walk, Temple, London, Messrs Alcock and Dixon, Burnley, and Mr Hall, Clithero.

WILSON, ISAAC, Tillington, Essex, draper, April 7, May 9: solicitor, Mr Digby, Maldon.

YEATMAN, HENRY, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, chemist, April 7, May 8: solicitors, Messrs Barron and Cullen, Bloomsbury square, London.

##### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BABBIE, JAMES, Edinburgh, printer, April 3, 24.

DAVIDSON, WILLIAM, Dundee, merchant, April 8, 27.



PEBBLES, JOHN, Leven, merchant, April 6, 27.  
BUTCHER, JAMES, Edinburgh, printer, April 3, 24.  
SCOTT, WILLIAM, Earleton, saddler, April 3, 24.

## BRITISH FUNDS.

There is little activity in the stock market, but current prices are supported. There has been a rather increased demand for money, but it did not last long.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Ditto for Account	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per cent. Reduced	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
New 3½ per cent.	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
Long Annuities	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Stock	75pm	64pm	65pm	65pm	65pm	65pm
Exchequer Bills	77pm	74pm	72pm	72pm	—	—
India Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—

## RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	43	London and Brighton	35½
Birmingham & Gloucester	49	London & Croydon Trunk	11
Blackwall	61	London and Greenwich	5½
Bristol and Exeter	61	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	31½	Manchester & Birm.	23
Eastern Counties	10	Manchester and Leeds	79
Edinburgh and Glasgow	45	Midland Counties	62½
Great North of England	60	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great Western	94	North Midland	68
Ditto New	70	Ditto New	—
Ditto Fifth	17½	South Eastern and Dover	25½
London and Birmingham	207	South Western	64
Ditto Quarter Shares	52	Ditto New	—

## FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	30
Belgian	105	Peruvian	20
Brazilian	80	Portuguese 5 per cents	72
Buenos Ayres	29½	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	26	Russian	113½
Danish	87	Spanish Active	23
Dutch 2½ per cents	55½	Ditto Passive	5½
Ditto 5 per cents	102	Ditto Deferred	13

## MARKETS.

## GRAIN, MARK LANE, March 27.

There was a short supply of English wheat this morning, which met with a dull sale at 2s. below this day's night. There was a better sale of foreign at the above reduction. Barley was fully 1s. cheaper. Peas of all sorts were a dull sale, and beans were 1s. lower. The oat trade has given way 1s. per qr.

Wheat, Red New	40 to 46	Malt, Ordinary	46 to 52
Fine	46 to 48	Pale	54 to 57
White	45 to 50	Peas, Hog	26 to 28
Fine	50 to 54	Maple	29 to 31
Rye	30 to 34	Boilers	30 to 33
Barley	25 to 26	Beans, Ticks	24 to 28
Malting	26 to 33		

Beans, Pigeon	29 to 31	Wheat	20s. 0d.
Harrow	26 to 30	Barley	9 0
Oats, Feed	15 to 18	Oats	8 0
Fine	20 to 23	Rye	11 6
Poland	19 to 22	Beans	11 6
Potato	19 to 22	Peas	11 6

Wheat	47s. 6d.	Wheat	47s. 11d.
Barley	27 11	Barley	27 4
Oats	17 4	Oats	17 2
Rye	28 5	Rye	28 5
Beans	26 10	Beans	26 10
Peas	29 4	Peas	29 4

## SEEDS.

Cloverseed was rather more inquired for, but other articles remained dull.

Linseed	per qr	Clover	per cwt
English, sowing	48s. to 56s.	English, red	42s. to 60s.
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white	44 to 62
Ditto, crushing	42 to 45	Flemish, red	44 to 48
Medit. & Odessa	45 to 46	Ditto, white	52 to 54
Hempseed, small	35 to 38	New Hamb., red	—
Large	46 to 48	Ditto, white	40 to 60
Canary, new	62 to 63	Old Hamb., red	42 to 45
Extra	64 to 65	Ditto, white	—
Caraway, old	—	French, red	40 to 48
New	42 to 44	Ditto, white	50 to 58
Eye-grass, English	30 to 42	Coriander	10 to 16
Scotch	18 to 40	Old	16 to 20
Mustard	per bushel	Rapeseed	per ton
Brown, new	9 to 11	Eng. sh. new	31s. to 33s.
White	9 to 10 6	Linseed cakes	—
Trefoil	18 to 22	English	9s. 10s. to 10s. 0s.
Old	12 to 16	Foreign	5s. 10s. to 6s. 0s.
Tares, new	4 to 5	Rapeseed cakes	5s. 5s. to 6s.

## PROVISIONS, LONDON, March 27.

The butter market has been dull, owing to the mild weather; to-day, however, it looks rather better, as the weather is colder. Foreign in good request: Friesland, 112s. to 116s.; Holstein, 104s. to 110s.; Holland, 100s. to 104s.; Kiel, 90s. to 98s. per cwt. For singed bacon a dull demand; the transactions have been few, and nearly of a retail character, and the prices 1s. to 2s. less than last quoted. Bale and tierce middles in slow sale at previous rates. Hams and lard in limited request; prices 1s. to 2s. per cwt lower.

## HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, March 27.

We have a steady demand for hops of the last year's growth, at last week's prices. The stock on hand has become very limited.

## BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, March 27.

The supply was very moderate, and of extremely inferior quality; yet it was quite equal to meet the wants of the buyers. The dead markets having been well cleared, and the weather being more favourable to slaughtering, the trade was tolerably steady, and the quotations advanced quite 2d. per 8lbs.

## Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 6d. to 4s. 0d.	Veal	3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.
Mutton	2 8 to 4 0	Pork	3 0 to 3 10
Lamb	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.		

## HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Beasts	Sheep	Calves	Pigs
Friday 395	3,530	138	379
Monday 2,610	23,350	60	439

## NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, March 27.

Inferior Beef 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.	Inf. Mutton 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d.
Middling do 2 6 to 2 8	Mid. ditto 2 8 to 3 0
Prime large 2 8 to 2 10	Prime ditto 3 2 to 3 6
Prime small 2 0 to 3 4	Veal 3 0 to 4 2
Large Pork 2 10 to 3 4	Small Pork 3 6 to 3 10
Lamb	4s. 4d. to 5s. 8d.

## POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, March 27.

The supply during the past week amounts to 3770 tons: viz., from Yorkshire, 1305 tons; Scotland, 1155; Devons, 440; Kent and Essex, 290; Jersey and Guernsey, 405; Wisbeach, 175.

York reds	60s. to 70s.	Kent, whites	45s. to 55s.
Scotch ditto	40 to 60	Guernsey ditto	45 to 55
Devons	50 to 80	Wisbeach	45 to 50

## COTTON.

There was a good demand for American descriptions, and a large business has been done; but no improvement can be noted in prices, except ½d. advance on low qualities. Surats are more

salable. Brasil and Egyptian continue heavy. Speculators have taken 14,000 American; and exporters 2300 American, 600 Surat, and 200 Madras.

## WOOL.

There has been a little more demand this week, and prices have been tolerably well sustained.

Down ewes 0s. 10d. to 0s. 10½d.	Hf-bred hogs 1s. 0d. to 1s. 0½d.
Down teggs 0 11 to 1 0	Flannel wool 0 8½ to 1 0
Wethers 0 10 to 0 11	Blanket wool 0 5 to 0 7½

HAY, SMITHFIELD, March 25.—At per load of 36 trusses.	
Coarse Meadow 60s. to 75s.	New Clover Hay 80s. to 110s.
New ditto	Old ditto
Useful old ditto 80 to 84	Oat Straw 46 to 48
Fine Upland do 85 to 90	Wheat Straw 48 to 50

## COAL EXCHANGE, March 27.

Hetton's, 19s. 6d.; Stewart's, 19s. 6d.; Caradoc, 19s. 6d.; B. Hetton's, 19s. 6d. Ships arrived this week, 100.

## GROCERIES, TUESDAY, MARCH 28.

TEA.—The market is very dull, and more public sales expected. Ordinary to fair common Congou have been sold as low as 1s. to 1s. 1d. per lb for cash.

COFFEE.—The market is a little more firm, and although there is not much business doing, still prices are rather higher.

SUGAR.—The market is still flat, and prices 6d. per cwt lower. The purchases of the trade only amounted to 300 hhds and tierces. The refined market is also lower.

TALLOW.—There is not any alteration in prices, but the market is rather heavy.

## Advertisements.

## THE DISSENTERS' and GENERAL LIFE

and FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY. Empowered by special Act of Parliament, 3rd Vic., c. 20. 62, King William street, London bridge, London; 21, St David street, Edinburgh; and 6, King street, Queen square, Bristol.

Capital, One Million.

TRUSTEES, WITH A SEAT AT THE BOARD.  
Thomas Challis, Esq. Thomas Wilson, Esq.  
Thomas Piper, Esq.

## DIRECTORS.

George Bousfield, Esq. Sir John Pirie, Bart, Ald.  
Sir John Easthope, Bart, M.P. Thomas B. Simpson, Esq.  
Peter Ellis, Esq. Edward Smith, Esq.  
Joseph Fletcher, Esq. Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.  
Richard Hollier, Esq. John Wilks, Esq.  
Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P. Edward Wilson, Esq.

On the return of the Quarter the Directors beg to remind their Friends and the Public, that in the Fire Department they receive risks of all descriptions, including Chapels, School-rooms, Mills, Goods, and Shipping in Docks, Farming Stock, &c., at the same reduced rates as other respectable Companies, and make no charge on Policies transferred from other offices. In the Life Department they continue to transact all business relating to Life Assurances, Annuities, and Family Endowments, upon the most liberal terms consistent with sound principles and public security.

The usual liberal allowance made to Solicitors, Surveyors, and other Agents.

By order of the Directors,  
THOMAS PRICE, Secretary.

TEMPERANCE and GENERAL MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY, Universal Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle street. Capital, £500,000. In Shares of £25 each; Deposit, £1 per share. To be incorporated by Royal Charter, or the responsibility limited by Act of Parliament or Deed of Settlement.

## TRUSTEES.

James Martin, Esq., 68, Lombard street.  
Hodgson Smith, Esq., 2, Catherine court.

## DIRECTORS.

(With power to add to their number.)  
Capt. Charrette, H.E.I.C.S., Claremont cottage, Regent's park.  
Capt. Dickinson, R.N., Naval club.  
Capt. Poord, H.E.I.C.S., Maida hill.  
H. I. Hall, Esq., ship owner, 1, Riches court.  
Michael Hick, Esq., ship owner.  
Edmonstone Hodgkinson, Esq., Park place.  
Capt. Ingram, H.E.I.C.S., ship owner, 4, Blackheath terrace.  
W. Richardson, Esq., 13, Bedford street, Bedford square.  
Hodgson Smith, Esq., ship owner, Catherine court, Trinity sq.

## BANKERS.

The Bank of England, and Messrs Stone, Martin, and Stone, 68, Lombard street.

## SUPERINTENDENT OF THE UNDERWRITING DEPARTMENT.

Mr George Paquelin.

## STANDING COUNSEL.

Sir Gregory Allnutt Lewin. J. Langton Clarke, Esq.  
Solicitor, Mr J. L. Jones, 71, Mark lane.

## SECRETARY, Mr James Scott Galbraith.

The object of this Company is to establish a system of Underwriting, new to London, but not new to other parts of England, or to America, where the plan has been tested, and found to be eminently successful.

Evidence has been submitted to Parliament, and Select Committees have reported in its favour, that a very large proportion of losses at sea arise, either directly or indirectly, from the use of Ardent Spirits. Sir EDWARD CODRINGTON, Admiral BRENTON, Mr C. PURNELL, the Dock Master at Liverpool, the Hon. Capt. Rous, and many other influential and experienced individuals, have stated to Parliament that a very large proportion of all the losses at sea are occasioned from this cause alone.

The evidence, however, that has recently arrived from America is still more conclusive. The New York marine insurance offices that have adopted and carried through the temperance principle on shipboard have given the following return of their profits:—"By adding up the dividends we have paid for the last eight years (the period in which the measure has been generally adopted), they amount to upwards of 220 per cent., or an average of upwards of 27 per cent. per annum. The temperance risks have been the best department of our business."

The members of the Montreal Board of Trade have just issued a Memorial to British Underwriters, Ship Owners, and Ship Masters, which contains the following paragraphs:—

"RESPECTFULLY SHOWN.—That the people of Canada derive their supplies of imported goods chiefly from Great Britain, and export thither almost all their surplus produce, paying freight and insurance both ways, and therefore have a deep interest in the good management of British merchant ships.

"That we believe British underwriters, ship owners, and ship masters are desirous of giving every reasonable satisfaction to their colonial customers; and, therefore, it is our duty to make known to them such suggestions as occur to us respecting the better management of our mutual intercourse.

"That we believe the common use of intoxicating drinks on shipboard to be a custom fraught with many pernicious consequences: First, by forming and fostering habits of intemperance among seamen; second, by frequently interfering with the proper subordination of the crew, and the clearness of judgment and self-command of the officers; and third, by causing frequent shipwrecks, thereby wasting life and property, and, as a necessary consequence, materially increasing the rates of freight and insurance.

"That we believe, not only from what we have heard of American ships, but from the experience of the owners and masters of some of the finest vessels that visit the St. Lawrence, that it is not merely practicable, but highly advantageous, to sail vessels on temperance principles. And, therefore, we respectfully request British ship owners and ship masters to give that system a fair trial.

"That, as the risk of loss must be considerably diminished in vessels sailing on temperance principles, we request British underwriters to adopt the American plan of making an abatement of premium to the owners of, and shippers by, such vessels, not only as an act of justice to them, but as an encouragement to others to follow the example.

"That, for these reasons, it appears to us to be a duty to give

a preference in the way of business (other things being equal) to vessels sailing upon temperance principles, and to urge the adoption of these principles in the management of British merchant ships, by every consideration of interest and humanity.

## MEMBERS OF THE MONTREAL BOARD OF TRADE.

J. T. Brondgeest, President	Millar, Edmonstone, and Allan
Thos Cringan, Vice-president	Barrett and Hagar
J. W. Dunscomb, Treasurer	Glennon and Bramley
Wm Edmonstone	John Sproston
J. G. M'Kenzie	E. and G. Wright
John E. Mills	Thomas Peck
H. Stephens	J. and W. Roy
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Logan, Cringan, and Co.	John Auld and Co.
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St Greenshields, Son, and Co.	Benjamin Hart and Co.
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William Peddie and Co.	John Holland and Co.
J. Leslie and Co.	Ryan, Chapman, and Co.
Moore, Ure, and Co.	Armour and Ramsay
Scott, Shaw, and Co.	John Kellar
H. B. Smith and Co.	Dugald Stewart
Hedge and Co.	Alexander Murphy
William Lyman and Co.	Jean Bruneau
Samuel Mathewson	Robertson, Masson, and Co.
W. and C. Brewster	J. R. Orr
William Laurie	John Dougall."
Atkinson and Co.	

Before this important evidence from America appeared, letters from all parts of the United Kingdom had arrived, hailing the formation of the TEMPERANCE and GENERAL MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY, and offers to take Shares and applications for Agencies were beyond precedent in the formation of Joint Stock Companies of late years.

The Public Press, both metropolitan and provincial, and of all parties, has advocated this Company; in addition to which, many hundred Gentlemen have written unreserved communications to the Secretary, approving of the principle and the Company, from among whom, as representing the various classes, may be taken the following:—

Lieut T. Akers, R.N., Ipswich.	G. Holland, agent to Lloyd's
W. Ball, ship agent, Southport	Swansea
The Hon. M. F. F. Berkeley, R.N., M.P.	Hood, Haggie, and Co., Newcastle
W. W. Bentham, agent to Lloyd's, Sheerness	Gustavus Heyn, ship owner, Belfast
T. F. Bilton, ship owner, Hull	Lieut Kennicott, R.N., Folkestone
B. Billingsley, jun., Agent to Lloyd's, Harwich	W. Lamont, jun., Grangemouth
Lieut Billingsley, R.N., Stutland	W. Lamb, Dundee
J. E. Blewett, secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Plymouth	E. Le Bas, Jersey
W. Brambles, agent to Lloyd's, Bridlington	E. L. Leigh, agent for Droits of Admiralty, Aldborough
Lieut Brunton, R.N., Alnmouth	J. M'Lean, agent to Lloyd's, Islay
F. Brown, Clifden	Capt. Marryatt, R.N., Manchester square
A. Cameron, ship owner, Dundee	Alex. M'iver, Stornoway
Carstairs and Robertson, Leith	John Martin, ship agent, Kincardine
Admiral Sir Edw. Codrington, Bart, G.C.B.G.C.M.G.	H. May, Maldon
Edmund Cole, Commr, R.N., Aston hall	J. W. Meath, president of the Total Abstinence society, Shields
E. R. Coles, Rochester	R. B. Mathew, R.N., harbour master, Lowestoft
Lieut Conduit, R.N., Eastbourne	Capt. Morgan, R.N., Guernsey
Lieut Cotgrave, R.N., Brighton	Middleton and Pollexfen, Sligo
J. C. Crofts, sp owner, Liverpool	Lieut Newenham, R.N., Gosport
Lieut Davies, R.N., harbour master, Donaghadee	A. and T. Nichols, Plymouth
Lieut David, R.N., Poole	T. S. Radford, president of the Christian Temperance society, Hull
Capt. J. Douglas, Edinburgh	Lieut Randall, R.N., Elie
Lord Viscount Ebrington, M.P.	Alex. Ritchie, merchant, Leeds
I. N. Eden, manager of the Shipping company, Hartlepool	Hon. Capt. Rous, M.P.
Lieut Francis W. Ellis, R.N., Southwold	Lieut Roe, R.N., Abbotsbury
J. Garie, harbour master, Perth	Richard Rowe, Bristol
J. Evans, jun., ship agent, Aberdorey	J. Smith, master of the Trinity house, Leith
Lieut J. G. Francillon, R.N., Gloucester	Capt. Agnew Stevens, R.N. Jersey
J. Galbraith and Co., Belfast	Lieut Taylor, R.N., Chatham
R. Gilkison, merchant and ship owner, Glasgow	D. Underwood, collector of customs, Aldborough
Capt. Harris, H.E.I.C.S.	Lord Harry Vane, M.P.

The Marine Insurance Companies already existing London upon the ordinary and less profitable plan of underwriting vessels in which ardent spirits are constantly used have been, in the majority of instances, so successful as to cause their shares to rise to a considerable premium. Thus the shares of the London Shipping Insurance Company are at a premium of upwards of 30 per cent., and the Indemnity Marine Insurance Company at more than 60 per cent.

To secure the large profits which a safer system of Insurance would produce, it has been determined to establish "THE TEMPERANCE and GENERAL MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY," with a Capital of £500,000, in 20,000 shares of £25 each, deposit £1 per share, limiting the responsibility of the Shareholder to the amount of his share, not more than one quarter of which it is likely will ever be required, as the superior soundness of the principle will speedily create a large guarantee fund by the proportion of profits reserved for that purpose.

The proposed Company will combine Marine Insurance, or the general business of underwriting to and from all parts of the globe, with such advances on Bottomry and Respondentia as may be deemed advisable; preventing shipwreck by the promotion of temperance; preserving and recovering property by establishing on the most dangerous parts of the coast wreck-weighting apparatus, and other valuable inventions, and thereby adding to the profits claims for salvage, as established by Act of Parliament.

It is proposed to have District Boards to assist the General Board of Directors in London, all the members of which District Boards will be holders of the same number of Shares as the Directors in London, which will not be fewer than fifty each.

Applications for Prospectuses, Shares, Agencies, or information, to be addressed to

JAMES SCOTT GALBRAITH, Secretary.

## GENERAL FUNERAL ESTABLISHMENT.

150, Blackfriars' Road, opposite the Magdalen.



**MRS and the MISSES PARKER** are wishing to receive into their Establishment, as Boarder, a Lady who may be desirous of obtaining a residence, offering every accommodation and comfort, in the absence of a Parent's home.

Terms, &c., may be ascertained by letter, or personal application, to No. 2, Church Row, Stoke Newington.

N.B. Vacancies for two or three Pupils.

**THE TRUSTEES of the FUND for the PURCHASE of an ANNUITY for Mr JOHN CRISP, a faithful servant of the ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE, under various associations for the last fifty years, and who, at the advanced age of 70, is now destitute of the means of subsistence, earnestly solicit further contributions.**

The following sums have been already received:—

Thos Clarkson, Esq. £5 0 0	Bernard Barton, Esq. £1 0 0
The Ven. the Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce .....	W. E. Forster, Esq. 1 0 0
Sir T. F. Buxton, Bt. 10 10 0	Henry Sterry, Esq. 2 0 0
E. N. Buxton, Esq. 5 5 0	Geo. Wm Alexander, Esq. ....
Sir George Stephen. 10 10 0	Jos. Cooper, Esq. ....
Mr Sergeant Stephen. 10 0 0	Rich Barrett, Esq. ....
Right Hon. Stephen Lushington .....	Edward Cropper, Esq. ....
The Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M.P. ....	John Cropper, Jun., Esq. ....
B. Smith, Esq., M.P. 10 10 0	Philip Sewell, Esq. ....
W. Evans, Esq., M.P. 10 10 0	Miss Wedgwood .....
Dowager Lady Suffolk .....	Mrs Elmslie .....
Rev. E. Dewdney .....	Miss F. M. Smith .....
Rev. S. C. Wilks .....	Miss Maria Smith .....
Rev. Henry Venn .....	W. E. Nightengale, Esq. ....
A Friend .....	F. C. Nicholson, Esq. ....
Jos. John Gurney, Esq. ....	Messrs Truman and Cook .....
Mr Hoare, Hampstead .....	H. W. Macaulay, Esq. ....
Samuel Hoare, Esq. ....	T. E. Dicey, Esq. ....
Mrs Eaton .....	W. A. Garratt, Esq. ....
Mrs Harrison .....	Messrs Johnson and Barrett .....
Jos. Pease, Esq. ....	William Wilson, Esq. ....
Geo. H. Head, Esq. ....	Richard Rathbone, Esq. ....
L. W. Dilwyn, Esq. ....	Robt Benson, Esq. ....
John Barton, Esq. ....	John Fenwick, Esq. ....

The Trustees for the due appropriation of the Fund, are Sir George Stephen, Jos. Cooper, Esq., and Robert Stokes, Esq. Subscriptions will be received by Messrs Williams, Deacon, and Co., Bankers, Birch Lane; Messrs Drewett and Fowler, Bankers, Princes street; and at this Office.

**PROTESTANT SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. EDUCATION AND FACTORIES BILL.**

**AT A SPECIAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE** held at the King's Head Tavern, Poultry, on March 22, 1843, to consider "A Bill for Regulating the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Factories, and for the better Education of Children in Factory Districts,"

JOHN WILKS, Esq., in the Chair,

It was Resolved—

I. That this Committee, and the numerous congregations in England and Wales connected with it, may challenge competition with any party in the empire, for sincere devotedness to the great cause of Christian Education—a devotedness induced by regret at increasing crime, by love to that constitutional freedom on which social well-being depends, and by a desire for the honour and happiness of the people, and for the prosperity and true glory of their native land.

II. That in proportion to their interest in the universal education of a vast and augmenting population, has been their delight in the establishment (mainly under the impulses and examples of the Protestant Dissenters and Methodists) of Parochial, Congregational, and Sunday schools, conducted by many thousand disinterested and pious teachers, and imparting knowledge to more than two millions of the rising generation.

III. That also in proportion to their anxiety for the intellectual and moral improvement of the country, is their alarm on the consideration of the depending Bill; as the first of a series of attempts to usurp, on the part of the Church, a fearful and lordly domination, by blending new and unprecedented powers of controlling education, with the regulation of factory children in factory districts—which will excite the aversion rather than the gratitude of parents—and which is manifestly inexpedient and unjust. As

1. It will subject all schoolmasters and existing schools, within the districts, to the intrusive inspection and authority of stipendiary officers of the Crown connected with the Church. As

2. It will place the supply of children to factories at the caprice of Clerical trustees. As

3. It will add unjustly to the weighty, galling burdens of Parish Poor rates the expenses of an education which should be here, as in Ireland, defrayed, not by local taxation, but from the public revenue and Consolidated Fund. As

4. By connecting the Church, which is to appoint masters, select books, and regulate proceedings, with parish rates, it will add to the injuries inflicted on the Society of Friends, and many conscientious objectors to Church rates, by the creation of a new and overflowing stream of calumnies, litigation, and expensive, unneighbourly strife. As

5. It is designed, and will inevitably tend, to paralyse, and finally to destroy, all the noble and voluntary institutions of Infant, Day, Evening, and Sunday schools for the tuition of the youth of the operative classes, in town and country, in the elements of learning and knowledge, and in Scriptural truth; and which year by year are happily progressive in useful influence and undoubted success. As

6. It will undo all the liberal concessions, favourable to religious freedom, won by arduous labours, continued through many years; and will disingenuously accomplish a design of conferring upon the Established Church, at the expense of all other religionists of every denomination, an authority over the independence and conscientious rights of the people, which no former Administration, since the accession of the House of Brunswick to the Throne, would have dared to attempt. And as

7. While professions are made that the wishes and scruples of parents as to the religious instruction of their children shall be respected, the provisions for that purpose are obviously but illusory and ineffective, and will only disappoint and mock any expectations and hopes founded on them.

IV. That this Committee, however reluctant, in these inauspicious times, to intermeddle with public affairs, are imperatively urged to express the opinions they have deliberately formed, and their hopes that by all hearty friends to education and to civil and religious liberty, the Bill will be at once and perseveringly, with energy and union, opposed; and to announce their purpose to petition Parliament, that the Bill may be withdrawn, that another Bill only correcting the abuses in factories may be substituted, and that finally, and ere long, a general measure for National Education, after due communication with all parties interested throughout Great Britain, and on just, tolerant, and enlightened principles, may be agreed on and adopted, and by which the universal instruction, the moral training and Christian education of all classes, in commercial and agricultural as well as manufacturing districts may be happily, harmoniously, and beneficently carried into effect, and form the noblest monument of national greatness and wisdom that has been devised or reared by any country and in any age.

JOHN WILKS, Chairman.

These Proceedings have been extensively circulated with the following note:—

These Resolutions are accompanied by a hope and by entreaties, that decisive measures may be immediately taken to oppose the depending Bill, and frustrate the alarming and injurious design, by all Patrons of the British and Foreign School Society, by the Teachers and Advocates of Sunday Schools, and by all Friends to Religious Liberty—by preparing and forwarding petitions to parliament, and by applying to the Members of the Boroughs and Counties in which they reside. The Petitions may be short—may generally state the existence of objections to the Bill—and pray that the parts of the Bill which relate to Education may not pass into a Law.

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